CHAPTERS FROM MY LIFE

SIR HENRY S. LUNN

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CHAPTERS FROM MY LIFE

SIR HENRY LUNN

(From Presentation Portrait by the Hon. John Collier)

CHAPTERS FROM MY LIFE

With Special Reference to Reunion

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BY

SIR HENRY S. ✓LUNN

B.A., B.Ch., M.D. Trin. Coll. Dublin

In necessariis unitas; in non necessariis libertas;
in utrisque caritas

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TO MY WIFE

WHOSE SYMPATHY ON ALL GREAT ISSUES
HAS MADE TOLERABLE MANY HEAVY BURDENS

PREFACE

THE earlier chapters of this volume were written for posthumous publication. The growing urgency of the question of religious unity after the war, and the emphasis given to it by the publication of the Interim Reports of the English branch of the Committee on Faith and Order, and the formation of a Joint Committee to promote closer relations between the Church of England and Methodism, have led me to decide on immediate publication, and to omit certain chapters which would have diverted attention from my main subject—the promotion of Christian unity.

I have left out, for the same reason, the record of my political activities as Chairman of the New Reform Club, 1900-1905, and as a member of many other political organisations. I have also omitted reference to my parliamentary contest in 1910 and to certain incidents concerning international politics that preceded and followed it. These matters are reserved for a later volume.

The Missionary Controversy and its results had such a direct bearing upon my personal relation to the Church of England, and my editorship of the *Review of the Churches,* and presidency of the Grindelwald Conferences which grew out of the *Review,* that the whole record would have been unintelligible if I had not dealt with it.

A volume, of which ten thousand copies were issued by the officials of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, was used in a most damaging way by the defence in a libel action which I felt obliged to bring during this present war.

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CHAPTERS FROM MY LIFE

CHAPTER I

MY EARLY DAYS (1859—1876)

Wesley and the "Catholic Spirit"—Lincolnshire Methodism and the Church of England—The Town of Horncastle—My Father—Relations with the Clergy—Disraeli and Methodism—A Peasant's Contribution to Foreign Missions—Methodist Lay Preachers—Lay Preaching—At Harrow School—My Mother—The Dangers of Youth—An Anglican Mission—Holy Communion and Fasting—John S. Stansfeld.

> Our fathers trusted in Thee, and Thou didst deliver them; they put their trust in Thee, and were not confounded.—PSALMS.
>
> The growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts, and that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life and rest in unvisited tombs.—GEORGE ELIOT, "Middlemarch."

THE following pages express an attempt to record the inner history of the life that began on July 30, 1859, in the little Lincolnshire town of Horncastle, in a typical Methodist home. The object which I have set before myself is to show that all that I have been able to realise of the faith and practice of the Universal Church has been mainly due to the catholic teaching of John Wesley, and his insistence on the revival of the spirit and practice of the early Christian centuries.

His followers are constantly reminded of, and influenced by, his two memorable sayings, the first of which is recorded on his memorial tablet in Westminster Abbey, "The world is my parish," and "We are the friends of all, the enemies of none."

In harmony with the latter sentence is his striking analysis of the "Catholic Spirit" contained under that title in the first volume of his published sermons. In this sermon he says: "Every wise man will allow others the same liberty of thinking which he desires they should allow him; and will no more insist on their embracing his opinions, than he would have them to insist on his embracing theirs. He bears with those who differ from him, and only asks him with whom he desires to unite in love that single question, 'Is thy heart right, as my heart is with thy heart?' . . . I do not mean, 'Embrace my modes of worship,' or, 'I will embrace yours.' This also is a thing which does not depend either on your choice or mine. We must both act as each is fully persuaded in his own mind. Hold you fast that which you believe is most acceptable to God, and I will do the same. I believe the Episcopal form of Church Government to be scriptural and apostolical. If you think the Presbyterian or Independent is better, think so still, and act accordingly. I believe infants ought to be baptised; and that this may be done either by dipping or sprinkling. If you are otherwise persuaded, be so still, and follow your own persuasion. It appears to me, that forms of prayer are of excellent use, particularly in the great congregation. If you judge extemporary prayer to be of more use, act suitably to your own judgment. My sentiment is, that I ought not to forbid water, wherein persons may be baptised; and that I ought to eat bread and drink wine as a memorial of my dying Master; however, if you are not convinced of this, act according to the light you have. I have no desire to dispute with you one moment upon any of the preceding heads. Let all these smaller points stand aside. Let them never come into sight. 'If thine heart is as my heart,' if thou lovest God and all mankind, I ask no more: 'Give me thine hand.'"[1]

This teaching has, I hope, influenced my life throughout, and was still strongly characteristic sixty years ago of the attitude of the "people called Methodists" in John Wesley's native county of Lincolnshire. The bitterness towards the

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[1] Wesley's Works, vol. 8, pp. 495 and 499.

Established Church which marked the Dissenters was simply non-existent in the Methodism of my youth. We had our own standards of importance, and were strangely influenced by the standards of other churches. There were still living many whose parents had heard the preaching of "Mr. Wesley," as he was always called in those days. To be the son or grandson of one of Wesley's own preachers was a greater distinction than to be the son of a Bishop. The President of the Conference—our governing body—was a greater personage than the Bishop of the diocese. Whilst Methodism was closely associated with, and still realised that it was a daughter of, the Church of England, it was widely separated by its insistence on Free Will and the offer of salvation to all men, from the fatalism of the doctrines of election and final perseverance taught by Calvinistic dissent two generations ago.

Many have written of Tennyson's birthplace, Somersby, not far from Horncastle, as part of the Fen country. This is a mistake. It is a picturesque little village on the edge of the Wolds, a fitting birthplace for a poet. Horncastle, six miles away, is also on the Wolds, and lies in the valley of the Bain, hence its Roman name: "Banovallum"—"the fort of the Bain." It is surrounded by a circle of small hills which, to me in my early cycling days, or when I was driving a very swift little pony downhill, seemed almost as dangerous as the mountains round Grindelwald seemed to my boys in later years. We were separated from the Fen country by eight miles of a steady fall, down which the canalised Bain pursued its way through seven locks, which furnished opportunities for bathing sufficiently perilous to an over-anxious father.

The town of Horncastle had slept peacefully through the centuries, from the Roman occupation—of which some ruins still are encountered in digging foundations—to the nineteenth century, save only for the battle of "Slash Lane" during the Wars of the Roses, and some visits from Cromwellian troopers during the Civil War. Only twice a year did it move in its slumbers, and these occasions were the New Year's Wesleyan Methodist special services and the great Horse Fair in August. The latter attracted many queer characters from all parts of the world—Flemish horse dealers, colonial buyers, gipsies, showmen, and the like. The New Year's services brought Methodists from neighbouring towns and villages to enjoy the great annual Love Feast long since discontinued, and the sermons of some well-known preacher.

My father was born at Aston, near Birmingham, in 1832, of parents who were members of the Church of England. He was orphaned at eight years of age, and came to live in Horncastle with a Methodist uncle. For nearly seventy years, as a Methodist lay preacher, Sunday School superintendent, Circuit Steward, Class Leader, Representative to Conference, and in many other ways, he has served his generation according to the will of God, and although more than eighty years of age, with unabated energy but diminished strength, he is still doing what in him lies to advance the Kingdom of God.

The contrast between a mid-Victorian home, dominated by the teaching of Calvin, and the Methodist home in which I was born was brought home to me with great force when I read that remarkable book, "Father and Son," which relates the struggle between a Calvinistic father and his son. I felt then, as I now feel, how much I owed to the catholic spirit of the communion in which I was born, and to the wider creed of my parents. Although my father is still alive, and will, I hope, read these words in the printed page, yet no one who knows him will think that this tribute is untimely or overstated to-day, when he is more than half-way through the ninth decade. The deep respect of his townsmen, which he has always enjoyed since he came to Horncastle, has ripened into an affectionate veneration. No man has ever known him to do or say anything unworthy of a Christian or of a gentleman—in the best sense of that much-abused word. He has always been the friend of the poor without patronage, and of the rich without subservience.

I find it difficult to give in a few pages a picture of a life that has been one long record of quiet and unobtrusive championship of good causes, and determined resistance to everything that lowered the tone of public life—a life in which has been combined a passion for righteousness and a toleration and breadth of view which enabled him, without wavering in loyalty to Methodism, to be on friendly terms with the clergy of the Church of England.

A slight incident indicates his powerful memory and the use he has made of an education which terminated, so far as schoolmasters were concerned, when he left the grammar school at twelve years of age. He was talking to a clergyman who pointed to a pile of decaying matter, and said to my father, "A rough and decomposing mass," to which my father replied with Ovid's words, which were evidently in the other's mind, "Rudis indigestaque moles."

There was nothing my father resented more strongly than the occasional visits to the town and neighbourhood of a Methodist member of Parliament, who once described the antagonism of the clergy as "my greatest political asset." He had no sympathy with the tendency of Dr. Jabez Bunting and other influential early Victorian Wesleyan ministers who strove to cultivate a "separatist" spirit in Methodism, and to change her filial attitude towards the Church of England into that of a rival religious denomination. This was only part of a natural and cultivated toleration of spirit which manifested itself in perfect friendliness to ministers and members of all denominations, whilst refusing to be forced into a line of battle alongside of the political dissenters of the day. He was equally tolerant in theological opinion, as became a disciple of John Wesley, and whilst others around him were still insisting on verbal inspiration, the literal seven days of creation, and a material hell fire, he quietly taught us a broader and better creed.

In those earlier days Methodism was much nearer to the

Church of England than it is to-day. As that shrewd observer, Disraeli, pointed out in his novel "Coningsby," Wesleyan Methodists were an uncertain quantity in the political world, and could in no sense be classed among political dissenters. There was a corresponding ambiguity about their ecclesiastical position. The practice of holding services at hours that did not clash with the hours of worship of the Church of England had scarcely yet died out in some of the villages. My father's early training, with a certain love of reverence and a desire that everything connected with divine worship should be done "decently and in order," created an attitude of mind which made possible such relations with the vicar of the parish as would be very unusual to-day in the case of a Liberal Nonconformist.

On the nomination of the Vicar he was appointed treasurer of an ancient church charity, which was originally a fund for giving away bread at the church doors, but had been converted by the Charity Commissioners into a fund for apprenticing orphan boys born in the parish. This position he has held for more than half a century. It is an interesting fact as illustrating the improved hygienic conditions of life to-day, and the consequent disappearance of typhus, typhoid, and other zymotic diseases which mow men down in their prime, that before the war it was impossible to find enough orphans born in the town on whom to expend these funds. My father also still holds the position to which in those early days he was nominated by the same Vicar, of Treasurer to the Horncastle Dispensary.

Another instance of his friendly relations with the Church is preserved in the parish records of High Toynton, a small village in the Horncastle circuit, where among the notices given out by the Vicar during the cattle plague of 1866 occurs one to the following effect:

"Next Sunday being the day of National Humiliation on account of the present visitation of Providence, the Vicar will preach on this subject in the morning at the Parish Church, and Mr. Henry Lunn, of Horncastle, will preach on the same matter in the evening at the Wesleyan Chapel." The churchwarden who wrote out the notice was himself a Methodist class leader.

When my father, in 1876, moved from Horncastle to West Ashby House, two miles away, he found an equally sympathetic Vicar, whose day school accounts he made up regularly every year. Certain pews in the West Ashby church were regarded as the possession of occupiers of certain houses, of which ours was one. In those days no one accused my father of inconsistency because he attended church occasionally under these circumstances, and communicated from time to time.

In 1886, when my future wife, the daughter of Canon Moore, Rector of Midleton, Co. Cork, first visited our home, nothing surprised her more than the friendly attitude to the Church of England on the part of our Wesleyan Methodists, and the way in which an old Methodist farmer, spending the evening at our house, spoke of "Our Vicar."

On its ethical side, Methodism has suffered in public esteem by the high standard of its profession, and the inevitable inconsistencies to be found in so large a body of members. When it is remembered that among the twelve Apostles there was a Judas who could betray his Master, and a Peter who could deny Him, it is small wonder that a society of men, avowing as their object " the spread of scriptural holiness throughout the land," should produce a certain number of hypocrites. The higher the standard the greater is the temptation to cover up inconsistencies. And yet I can affirm without fear of contradiction that in his threescore years of business life none of my father's employees ever knew him try to overreach anyone. My earliest recollection of him in his business life is of an occasion when I saw him rebuke an employee for some misrepresentation about the article which he was selling.

My father, as Circuit Treasurer of the Missionary Society, represented that sense of a world-wide mission which is one of the great characteristics of the communion formed by

John Wesley. There was no one among the subscribers who gave him greater pleasure than a farm labourer named John Brown, of Baumber, and he always enjoyed telling the story. Some time in the early 'fifties, John Brown, who would then be earning about fifteen shillings a week as a young labourer, was subscribing sixpence a week—£1 6s. per annum—to the Missionary Society. He found one day on the list of subscribers this entry: "Fanny, cook of Mr. Mark Holdsworth, 5s.," and as he was desirous of marrying he called one day at the kitchen door of Mr. Mark Holdsworth, my father's uncle. Fanny opened the door and the following conversation took place:

"Are you Fanny?"

"Yes."

"I see you are interested in the work of Foreign Missions, and so am I. I should like to marry someone who feels as I do about this work for the heathen."

Fanny asked for a year to think it over. At the end of that time she accepted her suitor and they were married. In the front room of the little cottage at Baumber, where I have often been, she started a miniature Whiteley's, and out of her small earnings as a village shopkeeper she gave regularly sixpence a week to missions. For several decades there appeared in the list of subcribers the words: "Mr. and Mrs. John Brown, £2 12s." After Fanny died, the shop was discontinued and the entry ran, "Mr. John Brown, £1 6s."

This generosity in giving was accomplished in the man's case by a steady and intelligent study of Foreign Missions. Who can measure the value of this influence in the life of a Lincolnshire peasant, lifting him spiritually and intellectually to a plane which, without such an influence, he would never have attained. One day, after Fanny's death, John Brown came to my father and said, "I have been reading about this terrible earthquake in the West Indies, and the sufferings of our poor members. I should like to send £1 to the special earthquake fund."

As his life drew near to a close he came again and said, "I want to make my will. I have saved a little money, and I have no children, so I should like to leave £100 to the Missionary Society." This generosity on the part of a Lincolnshire labourer, who never rose above his class save in his religious experience, is worthy to rank with the widow's mite.

My father has been for nearly seventy years a Wesleyan Methodist local preacher. This term is used to differentiate the lay preachers of Methodism from its ordained clergy, who were called in earlier times the "travelling preachers," as indicating that they were liable to a change of "station" every year, and under the poll deed of John Wesley must change "stations" at least every three years.

Around Horncastle as a circuit town lie twenty villages constituting the circuit, and these twenty-one chapels are supplied by two ministers and about forty local preachers. It is difficult to exaggerate the services rendered by the great unpaid body of laymen, of which they were a part, all over England.

The farmers and wealthier tradesmen who were local preachers would drive to their "appointments," but many a labouring man, after a week's strenuous work, would walk some miles to preach in a village chapel at a morning service at 10.30 a.m. and only return home after an evening service ending about 8 p.m. These men varied greatly in their gifts and personal culture, but in the days before the influence of the Oxford movement had reached the villages, they did much to keep pure the springs of our national life. They were, many of them, better preachers than the clergy of those days, whilst their personal character and practical sense of what religion demanded of them was much higher. It is contrary to the purpose of this volume to say an unnecessary word about the shortcomings of another communion, but the great influence of local preachers would not adequately be explained if I did not say that within our circuit boundaries at that time were clergymen who were notorious for drunkenness and immorality. This fact explains in some degree the influence of the lay preachers who were each, as Wesley bade them to be, a "*homo unius libra.*" They may have known nothing of Latin and Greek literature, but they were at least well versed in that greatest of all moral teaching, the literature of the Hebrew. They were in many cases men of deep devotional instinct and real practical piety, and although in literature it may be true, "*le style c'est l'homme,*" in religion and religious teaching, character and personality are supreme, and even from the standpoint of culture, this institution of lay preaching by men who knew their Bible thoroughly had a greater influence on the villages than the teaching of the elementary schools.

How could it be otherwise? The Bible is the greatest literary anthology in the world, and a man who knows his Bible from end to end can never be said to be illiterate. A Church that through such lay preachers encourages the peasants of Lincolnshire to desert the ale house for the study of the Bible and meditations upon the great messages from the pens of the Hebrew prophets and the writers of the gospels, is not only the handmaid of religion, but of culture in the best sense of the word.

When I think of the lives and characters of the peasants of West Ashby and other villages around, who had been drawn away from the petty gossip of the public-house to their weekly meetings for Bible study, prayer, and exchange of religious experiences by the teaching of these humble lay preachers, I feel that the humble red brick chapels of Lincolnshire have accomplished a work of moral and intellectual quickening little suspected by many a visitor at the country vicarage who has never deserted the Gothic churches to see the inside of these unpretentious "barns" or tried to understand the men who worship there.

Perhaps the visitor from the vicarage, if he had entered one of these chapels, would have been startled—possibly even shocked—by what he would have deemed the familiarity of the extempore prayers and of the sermons. He might even have shuddered at the provincialisms and carelessness of aspirates coming from the pulpit. But of him whom the Roman Church claims as its first Bishop, the cultured Pharisee would say, "His speech bewrayeth him," and yet his first sermon on the Day of Pentecost was marked by the addition of three thousand to the Church.

These men might seem to the formal critic lacking in reverence, but as Chesterton, the Catholic, and Leslie Stephen, the Agnostic, both point out, in great ages of faith men have not been so fearful of irreverence. Those who "commune with God face to face" speak to Him with a sense of intimacy which cannot mark the prayers of those to whom the Deity is little more than "the tendency that makes for righteousness."

I have always regretted that many of my lay friends in the Church of England were not preachers. The gain would have been great, both to the Church and to the nation. After the Boer War, when Harrow School Chapel was being enlarged in memory of the men who had fallen, admirable sermons were preached in the Speech Room by some of my lay friends among the masters—Sir Arthur Hort, son of Dr. Hort, Mr. Howson, son of Dean Howson, and others. When the chapel was reopened they were heard no more. It is a far cry from Harrow School Chapel to our Methodist chapels in Lincolnshire, but an institution that in the providence of God has done so much for Methodism, and through Methodism for England, might well be adopted more widely by our National Church, when the need for men is as great as it is now and will be after this terrible war.

Two local preachers living at Hemingby, our neighbouring village, with whom as a fellow lay preacher my father was closely associated, deserve special mention. One was Harrison, the village carrier, and the other Hundleby, the steam threshing machine man. So much were they honoured in their neighbourhood for their high character and integrity that one year, instead of inviting a preacher of repute, the villagers asked these two men to take the two anniversary services. My father always enjoyed the dry humour of the carrier, who, commenting on Naaman, as "a great man with his master and honourable," added, "Some of you are great with your master, but not honourable." On another occasion, speaking of Hezekiah's prayer that his life might be prolonged, he said, "It is not wise to try to interfere with the will and purpose of God. He knows better than we do what is good for us. All Hezekiah did after his life was prolonged fifteen years was to have a son who grew up to be a public nuisance."

The threshing machine man, Samuel Hundleby, was of a different type. He began to preach before he could read properly, and, as he told me himself, his wife used to read the lessons to him till he had learned them by heart, and then he recited them in the pulpit. But he was filled with a burning passion for the salvation of men. His transparent zeal and earnestness roused his hearers to a sense of their sins and their need of Christ as a Saviour.

An important episode in this man's career reveals incidentally some of my father's characteristics.

For some years a certain minister with great dramatic gifts had visited Horncastle annually, and had given amusing and often comic lectures in the chapel on Old Testament characters. Lecturing on Jonah, he described the whale as saying, "Come in out of the wet, Jonah, we don't often have a travelling preacher in these parts." The proposals for Abimelech's marriage to Sarah, under the false impression that she was the sister of Abraham, gave him great scope for his peculiar gifts, as also did the long wooing of Rachel by Jacob. These jests in a place of worship contradicted all my father's early training in the Church of England, and jarred on his sense of reverence. He was particularly incensed by the fact that a very old Churchman whom he had visited and prayed with had come to hear this popular preacher, and after listening for a while in our pew, had walked out, muttering as he passed my father, "They told me that a Methodist chapel was a place to get one's soul saved. I did not expect this kind of thing."

Full of indignation at this sacrifice of sacred things to the needs of church finance, my father went the next year to the Trustees' Meeting, and moved that this minister, who, apart from his lecturing, had great evangelistic gifts, should come and preach instead of lecturing, and that his visit should be the Thursday of a week's special mission, Hundleby taking the other days of the week.

I shall never forget the powerful sermons, each about fifty minutes long, that Hundleby preached on four days of that week. It was curious to see how, when he warmed to his subject, his arms moved from side to side, as he moved when he was putting the sheaves of corn into the machine, and thinking doubtless at the same time of the message that he would give in God's name to the people. The Thursday service, conducted by the minister, was a remarkable justification of my father's proposal. Getting back to his true mission, the lecturing minister gave a sermon of great power. My father and another friend had given a joint guarantee that the collection should be up to the level of the amount taken at the lecture in the previous year. There was a deficiency of three guineas to be made up, but I think my father never gave a contribution to the chapel funds which afforded him more pleasure.

In the life of home, none of his children can ever forget the morning and evening prayers which began and concluded the day. No clouds of doubt intervened between him and the One Whose blessing he sought as the day began and to Whom he returned thanks at its close. And in all those prayers there was a comprehensive intercession for the supply of the needs of all the children of the Father in Heaven, which revealed the extent to which his faith widened his horizon and enlarged his sympathies.

My father was happy in the choice he made, when she was fifteen and he was eighteen, of the woman who was to share his life.

My mother was only thirteen when, in the Methodist phrase so true of her, she first "entered into the enjoyment of religion." With that courage and zeal which always characterised her life she at once began family prayers in her home. More than a quarter of a century has passed since I lost her, and the memory of her saintly life remains my most precious possession. I go back to my earliest days, and remember how passionately she used to plead for the little boy kneeling at her side that he might ever be "surrounded by the everlasting arms of Love." The sense of the great love of God in Christ was in her a consuming passion.

Her one desire was to attain that holiness which is the peculiar possession of great saints. Sometimes preachers would come to our little town who spoke fluently of "Christian Perfection," and it was with a certain silent anger that I saw her listening to their counsels when they visited her home. It would have been more fitting that they should have learned from her that humility which led her always to say with St. Paul, "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect, but I follow after if so be that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus."

She had a great love for the practical teaching of the Epistle of St. James. Her favourite passage was "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction and to keep himself unspotted from the world." In accordance with the teachings of this passage, she took me regularly to visit certain old and infirm widows. At Christmas every year, certain savings during the year, kept for these widows, were spent on small purchases of tea and sugar with which we went to wish them a happy Christmas. The visits during the year meant much to them in their loneliness, but more to me as a training in practical Christianity. Sometimes I read to the old women, and my mother prayed with them. Even now I seem to hear the voice of one old dame, nearly ninety years of age, deaf and bedridden, as she murmured after me, unconscious that she was overheard, the tender words, "Let not your heart be troubled. . . . In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you." Amid all the doubts of the years which followed, the passionate certainty of my mother's prayers, and the responses of the old women to whom this world was partly veiled by their infirmities, but the next was clearly revealed, remained with me as a powerful influence to strengthen my hold on "the faith once delivered to the saints."

My mother's life was full of love. One thing only she hated supremely, and that was a lie in any shape or form; equivocation, exaggeration, prevarication—all were equally abhorrent to her simple soul. My father was well inspired when he chose for her epitaph the words "Her life was truth."

No one can read the "Confessions of S. Augustine" without realising how early the great issues of right and wrong may present themselves to a child. The attitude of many within and without the church to-day is to minimise the sinfulness of sin in old and young, but especially to overlook or disregard the possibility of grave moral injury being suffered in the very earliest years of life. On the other hand, Methodism, in its emphasis on the truth of the doctrine of "conversion" and its omission of the general practice of confirmation, has created certain special dangers for its young people. There can be no doubt that Wesley intended his people to be members of the Church of England with its practice of confirmation. But the early Methodists never adopted the rite. They substituted for it an insistence on conversion at a very early age, without that systematic training in ethics and doctrine which is carried out so admirably and thoroughly by many pastors of the English, Swiss, Swedish and other Reformed Churches, as a preparation for confirmation.

My own experience has taught me the dangers inherent in this part of Methodist practice. In my ninth year, I did truly realise my need of Christ as a personal Saviour, and believed that I had been converted. The dangers of this position for one so young cannot be overstated. I shudder to recall certain phases of spiritual pride, certain manifestations of religious conceit, which would seem almost incredible if recorded. On the other hand, my early membership of the Society was regarded as an insurance against wrong-doing by those who loved me.

When I was about seventeen there took place in our little town a Church mission which affected my life in many ways. One of the missioners was Canon Bullock, of Spalding, who expressed such sympathy with the temptations of young men that he drew me to unburden myself of the story of my past troubles and present temptations. Of his tender sympathy and wise counsel I cannot speak too strongly, and for a whole year I wrote to him every week. This began a friendship which endures to this day.

At the close of the mission he pleaded earnestly with all who had received help from his words and those of his fellow-missioner, Mr. Donald Claughton, to come to the Holy Communion on the last morning of the mission. I had been greatly stirred by his teaching of the presence of Christ at the Blessed Sacrament, and of the grace granted to those who regularly obeyed the Master's command to join this feast of love in memory of Him. My inner life was troubled and storm-tossed and I longed for this weekly aid in life's conflict.

I asked his permission to attend this service. Whilst he was anxious I should do so, he felt bound to consult the Vicar, who said that unless I actually intended to leave Methodism, it was inadvisable for me, as the son of a well-known Methodist, to attend. This Vicar was a High Churchman. He acted conscientiously, but I regretted his decision.

In these years I was driven for help to Wesley's sermons. Many times did I read his sermons on such subjects as "Sin in Believers," which express his insistence on the endeavour after holiness. Sin, as an indisputable fact in human life, was so deeply engraven on my mind during those years, that now, on reading some modern theology, I feel the same bewilderment at the denial of sin that an artist would feel if anyone asserted that the colour red was a delusion, or a musician if he were told that there was no combination of notes in music that could express sorrow and tragedy. And in the penitential Psalms I found another echo of my own experience. I found that another before me had cried to One Who heard and answered, "Hide Thy face from my sins and blot out all my iniquities. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me."

The struggle of those years taught me to sympathise with those who have surrendered under great stress. I remembered the wise caution :

> What's done we partly may compute,
> But know not what's resisted.

A few years later I was the colleague of W. T. Stead and Hugh Price Hughes in religious work, at a time when it was mainly their influence that drove Parnell into private life and kept Dilke out of the Cabinet and for a while out of Parliament. Many condemned their fierce attacks upon the private life of these men which they held made their position as political leaders impossible. But I knew that it was the wrong done and not the wrong-doer that roused their indignation, and that both Stead and Hughes were capable of great tenderness when dealing privately with those who had fallen. In my own life as a medical student I was enabled by these years of conflict to feel and, I hope, to show a real sympathy with two fellow-students, who, after years of dissipation, were each won by the love of a good woman from the grossness of their previous lives.

The teaching of Wesley led me back to the Catholic practice of fasting. In my earliest days the quarterly fast, which was then a real institution in Methodism but has now been forgotten, was regularly observed in our little town. My mother took me at six in the morning, again at mid-day and in the evening, to the special services of the day. In

Wesley's teaching I found that he insisted on the duty of a weekly fast. It was easiest on a market day—Saturday—to begin this practice unobserved. For a long time I practised fasting secretly and alone, but later on I invited two fellow lay preachers to join me on Friday in the mid-day hour for mutual confession, discipline and prayer.

I found in Wesley's writing that he had realised the need which the ancient Church supplied in the Confessional by instituting "Bands," which were not to consist of more than three persons. I felt, and feel to-day, that Wesley was right in believing that there were great elements of good in an institution which has filled so large a place in the spiritual history of countless thousands since the Apostolic Age. I knew that multitudes, burdened with the perplexing problems of temptation and sin, had laid their troubles before some wise and good priest, and had returned to the work of life strengthened and comforted.

Wesley, in fact, by his teaching of fasting, and his insistence on the importance of "Bands" for mutual confession, brought upon himself very severe criticism. The history of later Methodism shows that even during Wesley's lifetime the habit of mutual confession in these "Bands" led occasionally to scandal. This was due partly to the fact that the superintendent minister had put unsuitable people into bands together, and also to the fact that some of the members had not adequately realised the honourable obligations that lay upon them with regard to this species of religious confidence.

In my own experience as a young man, and also as a student at a theological college four years later, I was greatly helped by Wesley's adaptation of this Catholic practice. I am clear in my own mind that the spiritual life of many to-day would be strengthened by such mutual confession, or by asking in confession the help of an older and more experienced Christian.

In 1877 there was a small struggling Mutual Improvement

Society connected with our Chapel. In those days at the prayer meeting after the Sunday evening service, it was my custom to speak to any strange young men whom I saw remaining for this after-meeting. One evening, I noticed a complete stranger in the town, and as we were leaving the chapel I said to him, rather hurriedly and nervously, "May I introduce myself? You are a stranger in Horncastle. Will you join our class?" He promptly replied, "Yes, certainly I will." I then inquired, as I might have done at first, whether he were a member of our society, and finding that he belonged to the Church of England, suggested the Mutual Improvement Society as an alternative to the class. "Yes," he assented, "but what about the other?" "Oh," I said, "it is for members of the society only." The next day I felt conscience-stricken, and, seeing John Stansfeld—that was his name—in the street, I ran after him and said, "I am sorry I did not tell you more about that other class. It is a Methodist class meeting, where we meet every week to give our experience, and to help one another. Will you come?" He at once accepted the invitation, and thus began a friendship which greatly influenced both our lives.

The advent of a man trained in London debating societies into our Mutual Improvement Society created a great sensation, and in the three months he stayed in our town our membership ran up to over a hundred, consisting of men between the ages of sixteen and thirty. It was he who first introduced me to Ruskin and Carlyle and in many ways opened up the world of thought to me. A few years later, when I went to Dublin University to become a medical missionary, he was so strongly interested in my new life that he got appointed to Oxford, entered Pembroke College and took his degree in Arts, while still discharging the duties of his post. Having obtained a transfer to London, he then took his complete medical course and degree, entered the ministry of the Church of England, and after many years as a much-beloved medical missionary in Bermondsey, is now a Vicar of his own University town.

I have recorded this incident because of Stansfeld's influence on my career, and also because the establishment of this little society was my first little piece of work on behalf of inter-denominational unity. We framed our constitution so that the officers were divided between Church and Chapel, and our membership was drawn in about equal proportions from both sources.

CHAPTER II

THE CALL TO THE MINISTRY (1879—1881)

John Wesley and Riches—My First Business Venture—A Dream and the "Call"—Theological Problems—Visit to the East—Examinations and "Trial Sermon"—Accepted as a Candidate for the Ministry.

> David said: "Hear ye, my brethren, and my people: As for me, it was in my heart to build a house of rest for the ark of the covenant of the Lord and for the footstool of our God; and I had made ready for the building. But God said unto me, 'Thou shalt not build a house for my name because thou art a man of war.' . . . But the Lord said to David, 'Whereas it was in thine heart to build a house for my name, thou didst well that it was in thine heart.'"—THE BOOKS OF THE CHRONICLES.

STANSFELD'S influence on me at this time was very great, and I needed it. A temptation was assailing me against which John Wesley spoke in a plainer way than his followers have done at any time since his death. His denunciation of the love of riches has never been surpassed since St. Francis of Assisi roused the Church in Italy to some sense of its danger. But our pulpits in the 'seventies had little to say on this question. Unlike Wesley, they had largely lost touch with the Catholic idea of poverty as one of the great virtues. Some years earlier a much-revered President of the Wesleyan Conference had written two widely different books. One was a powerful assertion of the need for the Baptism of the Holy Spirit in Christian work. The other was a glorification of a rich Methodist tradesman. Both books had a large circulation.

I had been nearly two years in my father's business, and, not content with its outlets for organisation, had developed before I was twenty a widely advertised business, which paid for six years of college and university education. It was entirely unconnected with the one which I founded in later years. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of Connaught purchased from me two articles recently invented, which I was introducing in this business. My name was already becoming widely known throughout Great Britain and the Colonies in a department in which other men, who were then unknown, have since achieved great wealth. The career of the successful business man, making a fortune and dying a Circuit Steward and Representative to the Annual Conference, seemed to me for a time desirable and sufficient. Before I was twenty I took my father into partnership with the object a few months later of handing everything over to him and leaving the world of affairs.

My decision to abandon the business which I had created, and in which I seemed likely in a very short time to become wealthy, for a life in the Wesleyan ministry, and as a missionary to India, was brought about by Stansfeld's influence and my reading of Wesley. Just when these forces were most affecting my life, I had one of the very few dreams which have been worth remembering.

In my dream thirty years had passed by, and Stansfeld and I were walking along a road, with the slopes of the little river Waring, which enters Horncastle from the north, rising on our right. I turned and pointed to a large house, with lawn-tennis grounds in front, on which some tall girls and young men were playing. I said: "That is my place. Those are my children. I have had great success, but there is not a spark of religion in the place." I woke, but the influence of the dream remained.

On January 1st, 1879, I went to hear a special preacher at our chapel, little thinking how that hour would affect my life. The sermon had nothing to do with what follows. I only remember the text: "The veil of the Temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom," and the remark: "It was rent, not as man would rend it, from the bottom to the top, but as God would rend it, from the top to the bottom." This was one of the rare moments when, as the mystics would put it, we do penetrate the veil which separates the eternal from the temporal. The preacher, the sermon, the surroundings were all forgotten. I only knew that God was speaking to me, calling me from my present work to other tasks which He willed that I should do. In such moments the depths of our nature are stirred, what Myers and William James call "the subliminal consciousness" asserts itself, and in one hour the choice is forced upon us. The teaching of months and years must then be hearkened to or deliberately disobeyed. To those who consider from the standpoint of a man of the world my position at that moment, it may seem that there was small sacrifice involved in leaving the career on which I had entered for that of a Wesleyan Methodist minister. But that night it was with tears of real regret and a sense—however mistaken—of sacrifice that I told my parents I had resolved to enter the ministry.

In accordance with my wish I was put on a year's probation as a lay preacher, this being the necessary preliminary to my becoming a candidate for the regular ministry. For two or three years before this date I had been passing through the inevitable period of doubt which intervenes between the child's acceptance of parental teaching, and the gradual construction of a foundation of belief on which the superstructure of a life's faith may be built. I had followed in the *Nineteenth Century,* which we took in our home, the conflict of Spencer and Huxley as to whether God was unknowable or merely unknown, and the parallel controversy between Newman on the one hand and Kingsley and Fairbairn on the other, as to the basis of authority in religion. But, in the main, the simple faith of my parents and my own personal sense of the reality and presence of God, even in the darkest hours of my youth, remained with me almost unshaken.

One difficulty in matters of belief I could not so easily surmount. In those days the question of Eternal Punishment was widely engaging the attention of men. Dr. Farrar's "Eternal Hope" not only lost him the chance of a bishopric for which his learning and abilities marked him out, but also caused great searching of heart among a wide circle of readers. In preparing my first sermon, I read a very gloomy book called "For Ever," by an ex-President of the Conference, and, fortified by this dreary work, preached a correspondingly gloomy sermon on the text, "Why will ye die, O House of Israel?" I never got back again to the position of that sermon, and in my second effort I dwelt on "The mercies of God."

During the whole of this year of 1879 I was very busily engaged in my father's business and was also developing my own business. My father would have preferred that I should attend exclusively to his affairs, and to avoid conflict with his wishes I would rise at four in the morning to direct circulars, work until eight at night, and then read theology. The result of this pressure was that the winter found me on the verge of a breakdown, and on medical advice I was sent away to the Mediterranean for ten weeks.

I left England for Constantinople in January, 1880, on a ship belonging to a friend of my father's, and travelled thence by an Egyptian mail steamer, calling at Greek ports, to Alexandria, returning *via* Naples to Genoa on a French mail steamer. It was a somewhat perilous experiment to send a boy of twenty to the Levant, unaccompanied by any older friend, and with *carte blanche* to draw on the ship's agents at each port. Two passengers on the steamer, who took me to be a rich young Englishman, tried hard to persuade me to gamble, and Cairo was full of temptations. But I was generally fortunate in the acquaintances I made, and had no worse experience than the initiation into the delights of some new temperance drinks—curaçoa and vermouth—to which I was introduced by our captain at Smyrna. I was so delighted with such an attractive substitute for ginger-beer that I was most anxious to introduce them widely to my temperance friends, until a genial Englishman, to whom I confided my discovery, nipped my new crusade in the bud by informing me that these new temperance drinks were nearly as strong as brandy.

The most memorable day of the voyage was one Friday in Cairo, when I accompanied a party to see the Howling and Dancing Dervishes. A Presbyterian missionary from India, who was in the party visiting the mosques, noticed that I had been deeply interested in the ceremonies, and after our return pleaded long and earnestly with me to give my life to the Indian missionary work. For the time being I put the idea on one side, but this conversation was afterwards to change the whole direction of my life.

On my return to England, I prepared for examination at the March quarterly meeting of the Horncastle circuit, which roughly corresponds to a ruri-decanal synod in the Church of England. I was nominated as a candidate for the ministry by the senior minister, and sent forward to my next examination at the Lincoln district or diocesan synod. On this latter occasion I had to preach my first "trial sermon" at seven in the morning to a congregation of about one hundred, including at least ten ministers, and the Chairman (or Bishop) of a District (corresponding to a diocese in the English Church). This was followed by an oral examination in theology before the whole synod of about sixty ministers, and a sermon preached before one minister and marked and reported on by him. These marks were forwarded to a Committee sitting in Manchester, consisting of ex-Presidents from the northern half of the kingdom, two Missionary secretaries, the Professors of the two Theological Colleges situated in the North, with other officials and twenty-one ministers in circuit work. This examination, oral and written, was carried out with great care and conscientiousness, and the names of the accepted candidates were sent forward for final approval by the

Conference. There was something tragic in the case of those men who were not accepted, and were sent back to a secular life.

The whole system is a perfect illustration of the admirable organisation of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Only one criticism would I care to pass on the various examinations that I underwent during my candidature and three years' training at the Theological College, and the annual examinations during the four years of probation. At no point that I can recall during those seven years of training was I asked to explain my conception of the relation of Wesleyan Methodism to the Universal Church, to state what was the Church, what was the justification for the separation of the different branches of the Church, what was the meaning of our own ordination, and why the right to administer the Holy Communion was denied to lay preachers and those on probation, and recognised as the right and duty of those who had been ordained. I have my own answers to all these questions, but they have been evolved by years of thought and study, and were never brought before me as a candidate, a student, or a minister on probation.

After the Conference, meeting in late July, 1880, had in my case accepted the nomination of the Committee, I was instructed, as the Theological Colleges were then full of students, to return to my secular work for one year, unless any minister, being laid aside, required an assistant. Unfortunately for himself, the senior minister of the Horncastle Circuit was taken ill, and I was at once appointed by the President to be his ministerial assistant. It proved an invaluable experience, and was my only opportunity of studying from the inside the life of a circuit minister.

As it was the rule for candidates for the ministry to spend three years at a Wesleyan Theological College, and therefore I could not go to Oxford or Cambridge, I entered myself as a student at Trinity College, Dublin, where residence was not compulsory. During these months in the

Horncastle Circuit I preached three or four times a week, doing a good deal of pastoral work, and simultaneously prepared for the University. In July, 1881, I passed my entrance and first term's examination at Dublin, and a few weeks later began my life as a student in the Theological College at Headingley, near Leeds.

CHAPTER III

LIFE AT A METHODIST THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE (1881—1883)

Headingley College—"Governor Hellier"—Professor Banks and Professor Findlay—Leeds Methodism in the 'Eighties—College Life and Training—Offer for Work as an Indian Missionary—"The Parting of Friends."

> Let us live, then, as Christ's servants, under no delusive dreams—for life will not be easier but harder, infinitely harder, if you are to be His soldiers, against sin, the world, and the devil. Embrace if you will the banner of Love—Love flaming, intolerant, revolution incarnate. Follow Christ to joy, to worship, to exultation and to agony. But never forget for an instant, never forget—it is not peace but a sword that you bear and wield.—J. R. FIGGIS.

HEADINGLEY COLLEGE, Leeds, in 1881 was one of the happiest places in England. The Governor, Benjamin Hellier, in the opinion of all the students, was the best and wisest Governor of any of the four colleges—Handsworth, Didsbury, Richmond and Headingley. Stories more or less apocryphal were told of other colleges where the Governors were reported to treat their students as boys in many respects. We were honoured by our Governor's confidence, a confidence which we repaid by our honour and reverence for him.

Brought up in the Church of England, he had come in early life under the spiritual influences of Methodism. He believed thoroughly in the communion of his adoption, but never by word or deed did he evince anything of that spirit which Matthew Arnold had stigmatised a few years earlier as "The Dissidence of Dissent," a phrase which he borrowed without acknowledgment from Edmund Burke.

When an unlucky student at college prayers, which were conducted by the students in turn, concluded the lesson by the not unusual formula, "Here endeth the reading of the Scriptures," our Governor would say at breakfast in his genial way, "Brother So-and-So, why did you say this morning the reading of the Scriptures was ended? God forbid! The reading of the Scriptures will never be ended so long as the world exists. You can never improve on the rubric of the Prayer Book, 'Here endeth the Lesson.'"

No student will ever forget the first weekly devotional meeting of the college year, when the Governor would ask each of the new men to relate his personal experience of conversion. Once only in my time did he get the kind of answer that he cared for, when a friend of mine said, "My mother told me that the Lord Jesus loved me, and I believed her." This agreed absolutely with his own personal consciousness of the Love of Jesus, which made his own life so radiantly happy, and also with the strong conviction, embodied in a sermon that he preached all over England on the "Elder Brother" in the parable of the Prodigal Son, that it was an entirely unnecessary experience for any of the sons of God to feed upon "the husks that the swine did eat" when they might remain at home with the Father.

In all John Wesley's teaching there was no sentence that appealed to him more than the statement, "The World is my parish." Many of his students will remember his great missionary sermon on "The Field is the World." He had inherited from John Wesley, Xavier, and other great missionary souls of the Universal Church a strong sense of the world-wide mission of his own communion and of Christianity. Headingley was a Home College, but he was always delighted when any of the men designated for the Home work felt a call to the Mission Field.

We were also proud of our Professors. It was a common saying of the men that ten minutes with our Theological Professor, Dr. Banks, was worth an hour with Professor —— of —— College. On Dr. Findlay, our Classical Professor, I find this extract in my diary, "Feb. 5th, 1882. No one could be long in his company without realising the intimacy of his communion with Christ. No wonder that to him every word in Colossians [the epistle he was then lecturing on] is pregnant with meaning. The study of πρωτότοκος and πλήρωμα to him ceases to be mere investigation into the meaning of two words in a dead language, and becomes rather a reverent contemplation of certain phases in the relation to God the Father of that One, whom, above all others, he loves out of a pure heart fervently."

We lived in the main a very untroubled life. We had entered a new world, and although as yet we were only on its very confines it was the world of scholarship and letters. Most of the men spent every penny that could be spared from clothes and vacations upon accumulating a library. In some cases the sacrifices undergone to buy books would have astonished the inner world of literary men. In matters theological we were resting after the early struggles which preceded candidature for the ministry. The successful attempt to provide proofs, which at least satisfied our own minds, that the main doctrinal positions of Methodism were founded on truth, had been followed by a calm to last for the college course and, in some cases, for life. We were happy with the happiness of dwellers in a walled city, entirely unconscious of the advance of an investing force armed with new weapons of attack which would soon seriously test the fortifications which sheltered us.

No doubt disturbed our minds that the orders to be conferred upon us were as valid as those of any church in Christendom. We had an unquestioning faith in the Divine origin of the communion in which we were to minister in the years that followed. Our serene attitude on these points was akin to that which characterised the devout High Church clergy of the Church of England before the days when the secession of Newman and Manning and the renewed vitality of the Church of Rome raised grave doubts in the minds of such men as to the security of the *via media*. The spiritual fervour of early Methodism still remained as a great and vital force, especially in the country villages, though somewhat diminished by the growing wealth of the laity in the towns.

The work accomplished in Leeds by Dean Hook, who, when he came there, found Methodism (as he put it) "the established Church of Leeds," and by his devoted enthusiasm largely undermined its position, furnished a grave warning of what might happen elsewhere if the increasing riches of our leading men, and their lessened zeal, reacted upon the ministers and the mass of the Methodist people, confronted by the new life in the Church of England. Three great Methodist chapels—St. Peter's, Brunswick and Oxford Place—once crowded with zealous worshippers, were now sparingly occupied. I myself in those days preached one Sunday evening in St. Peter's to a hundred and fifty people in a building which would accommodate nearly fifteen times that number. The population was denser than ever, but Methodism had lost touch with the common people, and comforted itself with the vain assurance that "our members have moved to the suburbs." Headingley Chapel itself, a suburban chapel, which we were fortunately unable to attend because our Sunday work took us elsewhere, was an appalling example of the Arctic spiritual chill which had frozen the members of some of our rich suburban congregations into eminently respectable monuments to a dead faith. The material wealth of some of these churches was represented by hundreds of thousands, or millions. Their spiritual poverty was naked and unashamed.

Within the college walls, however, everything was reminiscent of primitive Methodism. Every Saturday we went to preach in chapels all over Yorkshire, where the congregation was not too proud to resent the ministrations of a "student." On Monday mornings we returned to stimulate each other with accounts of the week-end experiences. Great was our mutual rejoicing when one of us was privileged to record many inquirers after faith in Christ during the prayer meetings which followed our services.

At this period of its history, Headingley College, under the Governorship of Benjamin Hellier, was inspired with a passion for the salvation of men. It listened and responded to the insistence of Hugh Price Hughes upon the teaching of Horace Bushnell, that "The soul of all improvement is the improvement of the soul." It believed with Seeley in "Ecce Homo" that "the article of conversion is the true *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ*. When the power of reclaiming the lost dies out of the Church, it may remain a useful institution, though it is most likely to become an immoral and mischievous one. Where the power remains then, whatever else is wanting, it may still be said that 'The Tabernacle of God is with men.'"

On Fridays, which, in accordance with Wesley's rules for his preachers, were observed as special days of abstinence or fasting, and especially on the quarterly fast days, there was a passionate longing expressed by the college prayer meeting for the Pentecostal power to be manifested in our work as preachers. And in the most private meetings, by twos and threes in each other's studies, we sought to prepare ourselves for the services on the approaching Sunday. There were unforgettable moments when we realised the Presence of our Lord and Master.

But just as other Communions have found that the ideals of self-discipline, poverty, and purity of heart and life may be broken within the walls of a monastery, and luxury and self-indulgence may creep in under the rule of St. Francis, St. Benedict, or St. Dominic, so John Wesley's "Rules of a Helper" proved no certain safeguard against the dangers of life in a religious community.

For us young Methodists there was a "society" which sometimes threatened our zeal and diverted us from our calling. To such unsophisticated youths the invitation of a rich layman, holding high office in the Society, to spend a long evening at his house, smoking excellent cigars—as harmless in themselves as a cup of tea to a nervous woman, but prohibited by college rules—would exert a weakening influence in this life of sacred preparation. It might seem a small matter to return at midnight to the College from such a home through a window left open by a friend, but such trivial lapses were as potent in weakening devotion as much more serious offences would have been in the lives of more experienced men. We were under military training to be officers in the campaign against evil, and any weakening of the comparatively easy discipline of our college had a sapping influence.

At the beginning of my third year at Headingley the direction of my life was entirely changed. Subconsciously, the conversation which I had with the Indian Missionary in the gardens of the Ghezireh Palace after my visit in 1880 to the Mosques had been working in my mind. India had often been in my thoughts in 1883, perhaps because, as the eldest of a large family, I wished to remain in England. At last, in October, the conviction that I ought to offer for Indian work became irresistible, especially as the way was open for me to take a four years' medical course at Trinity College, Dublin, thus allowing time for my brothers and sisters to grow older. My mother, whom I was soon to lose, said in words that I have always treasured, though I have realised them so imperfectly, "Where the voice of duty calls you, there I wish you to go. You are my box of spikenard, very precious, which I would wish to be poured out in the Master's service." This dedication to my new work involved an ideal which, however far short I have fallen of it, I have never forgotten.

On my return to Headingley I saw our dear Governor, and he who loved work in other lands so much was greatly pleased by my decision.

My last night at Headingley stands out among the livelong memories that surround all this period. Bradfield and Hoyle, who had been my most intimate friends on the religious side of my life during my time in the college, spent the long hours of the night in conversation with me as to the future. Bradfield said, "It is false to say that things recur in life. They never recur. A change like this means that we must to some extent grow apart." I am thankful to say that this prophecy was not realised. Our friendship remained a strong link in our lives. The link was the stronger because of the prayers in which these two dear friends of mine pleaded, just before we parted, for God's blessing to rest upon me in Dublin, and afterwards in the work that should follow my residence in the University. The next morning, Crosby, who was going to Tonga in the South Seas, left the college with me. As we drove away amid the cheers of our fellow-students, we both agreed that we never hoped to know greater peace and happiness than we had enjoyed in Headingley, or to meet with a set of men more definitely consecrated to the high calling of saving the world from sin.

CHAPTER IV

DUBLIN UNIVERSITY (1883—1887)

The College Historical Society—College Friendships—The Divinity School—Dr. Salmon—Professor Stokes—The Contemporary Club—W. T. Stead's Visit—Dwyer Gray's Story of a Dinner Party—The Irish Protestant Home Rule Association—Lord Plunket on Home Rule—Michael Davitt—Home Rule Campaign—Loyalist Attack on My Rooms—Dr. Mahaffy and Dr. Shaw—First Introduction to Journalism.

> Es bildet ein Talent sich in der Stille
> Sich ein Charakter in dem Strom der Welt.
> —GOETHE, "Tasso."

THE complete catholicity of life in a University, and more especially in one which was in close touch with a great city, furnished a startling change from the cloistered routine of a Methodist Theological College and was the best possible preparation for my work as Editor of the *Review of the Churches* and President of the Grindelwald Re-union Conference. Dublin University no doubt loses something of scholarly calm from its situation in a capital, but it gains greatly from its association with professional, commercial and political life. In this respect it has always seemed to me a better training ground for the actualities of life than our ancient English universities.

I had taken two years of my Arts course whilst at Headingley College, and took the third year concurrently with my first year of medicine. At the conclusion of my last year in the Arts course, which was my first year of medicine, I decided to join the Divinity School and to take the two courses of medicine and divinity concurrently. The city and suburbs with their numerous chapels furnished me with opportunities of preaching of which I availed myself two Sundays out of three. The famous Historical Society, founded by Edmund Burke, who was its first Secretary, gave an opening for friendly encounter with students who were then winning distinction in college, to be followed later on by greater achievements in different spheres of life. As Secretary of this Society in my third year of medicine, and as Treasurer of the College Theological Society, of which the great theologian and mathematician, Dr. Salmon, was President, I had priceless advantage of intercourse with my fellows. The friendships formed in these societies gave that "universal" note to life which is expressed by the very word "University." My four most intimate friends were J. J. Sheehan, a Roman Catholic who took his gold medal in philosophy; Dr. Douglas Hyde, an Irish Churchman, a Gold Medallist in Literature and a distinguished prizeman in the Divinity School, afterwards known wherever Irishmen meet as founder of the Gaelic League; W. M. Crook, an Irish Methodist, Gold Medallist in Classics, afterwards Secretary of the Eighty Club; and J. O. Herdman, Gold Medallist in History and Political Economy, a member of an Irish Presbyterian family and himself a disciple of Herbert Spencer. We represented in our little quintette Ulster, Munster, Leinster, Connaught and England.

By my decision to join the Divinity School I found myself confronted with the alternatives of communicating three times annually in the College Chapel or declaring myself a Protestant Dissenter. I found no difficulty in deciding, as I had always known that, while Methodists were generally Nonconformists, we had never formally dissented from the Church of England. Our liturgy was hers and in every communion service our minister used unchanged the Prayer of Consecration, and the other prayers from the Prayer Book. At that time the "Wesleyan Methodist Society" remained in all its essentials what it had been left by John Wesley—a daughter of the Church of England, who had unhappily been driven by circumstances out of her home, and had founded a new home of her own.

The Church of Ireland has seldom attracted Methodists. If men leave Methodism for the Episcopal Church, they gravitate naturally to the High Church school of thought rather than to the Calvinistic Evangelicals. Those who taunted Wesley with being a Jesuit spoke more wisely than they knew. If he had been a member of the Roman Church in the great controversy between Jesuit and Jansenist, the philosophic principle on which his theology was based would have led him to take the side of the Jesuits with their emphasis on Free Will as against the determinist theology of Jansenius. The division between Wesley and Whitefield was no mere personal quarrel, but was founded on profoundly different conceptions of the government of God. The Evangelicals of the Church of England were greatly influenced by the teaching of Whitefield; and the Clapham sect, the Macaulays and Wilberforces and their followers, stamped Evangelicalism in the Church of England with a Calvinistic impress by which no follower of Wesley is attracted.

For this and other reasons, the meetings of the College Theological Society, the lectures of the Divinity School, and the services in the College Chapel in no way weakened my allegiance to the Communion to which I owed my spiritual life. Nevertheless this free intercourse with Churchmen strengthened and developed a desire for reunion which later found expression in the Review which I was to edit for some years, and the Reunion Conferences over which I was to preside.

I cannot leave this reference to the Divinity School without recalling with gratitude the memory of two men whose death was a great loss to the whole church.

Dr. Salmon, our Regius Professor, afterwards Provost, first achieved European fame as a mathematician. At the age of fifty, he became a professor of Theology, and won no less fame in theological circles by his great work, "An

Introduction to the Study of the New Testament." As President of the Theological Society, he always invited the officers and speakers after each debate to take tea in his rooms. It was no small privilege for callow divinity students to meet in close personal intercourse a man who combined great intellectual force with a profound faith in the Christian verities.

Dr. Stokes, our professor of Ecclesiastical History, was a man of great breadth of thought. He invited me frequently to read the lessons in his church at Blackrock. Afterwards, over a friendly pipe, we discussed theological and ecclesiastical problems with a freedom impossible in the lecture-room, and with a corresponding educational value.

A Club, whose success helped to suggest to me the idea of what took shape in the Reunion Conferences, was formed in Dublin in 1885 by some Trinity men and some distinguished men outside the University. The Contemporary Club (as it was called), of which I was a member, limited its numbers to fifty, and included T. W. Russell, then a Unionist Member of Parliament; Michael Davitt and John O'Leary, Fenian leaders; Dwyer Gray, M.P., a leading Parnellite; Robert Cherry, afterwards Lord Chief Justice; Professor Arnold, of the Catholic University, brother of Matthew Arnold; W. B. Yeats, the poet, and his father the artist, and other men of diverse opinions.

We met every Saturday evening for free and untrammelled discussion of any subjects under the sun. The fact that this group of Irishmen, divided sharply on political and social issues, could discuss with good temper questions on which they so widely differed, convinced me a few years later that it would be possible to bring together in a series of Conferences men of the most divergent views.

The Club was visited by many distinguished men. When W. T. Stead came over to Ireland to write, in his somewhat pontifical style, his series of articles entitled, "The Truth about Ireland," he came on my invitation to the Club. This was immediately after the General Election of 1886. The discussion was throughout a most exciting one. The first time he came he interviewed everybody in the room and said little. He then went through Ireland and came back perfectly certain that he had discovered exactly what was wrong with Ireland and how to cure it. He said, "I have been through Ireland. The Crown has failed to govern the country. Parliament has failed to govern the country. The landlords have failed to govern the country. The Land League is governing the country. They are the government *de facto;* make them the government *de jure*."

Dr. G. F. Shaw, my tutor in Trinity, who was also the leader writer for the *Dublin Evening Mail,* a Conservative paper, turned round sharply and said, "What! I have been to Sicily. The Crown had failed to govern the country. Parliament had failed to govern the country. The landed classes had failed to govern the country. The brigands were governing the country. They were the government *de facto*. Would you make them the government *de jure?* When I read the history of my unhappy country, Protestant as I am, loyalist as I am, my blood boils with the wrongs that we have suffered. Shall we make these men, animated by the two strongest passions that can animate mankind—revenge for the past and avarice for our riches—our masters?"

The conversation was then turned rather abruptly by Stead to the condition of Romanists in the North of Ireland, who were subject to trial by Protestant magistrates only. He pleaded for some Roman Catholic magistrates. This roused T. W. Russell, at that time a Unionist.

Stead said, referring to his trial in connection with the "Maiden Tribute" agitation, "I know what it is (I do not say whether I was right or wrong) to stand in the dock and feel that the whole majesty of the law, which had been used for my protection before, was now being used to crush me. This is how the Papist feels in a Protestant Ulster Court." This was too much for Russell's temper. He looked round the room at Dwyer Gray, and other Fenians and Parnellites, and said in an angry tone, "How many jailbirds have we here?" Dwyer Gray, with an Irishman's ready wit, came to the rescue and said, "That reminds me of an incident that happened after the Kilmainham treaty. Gladstone had just released us all, and in honour of the event, I gave a dinner at my house in London. I had a new butler that night, and my guests had begun to give their experiences of plank beds and skilly. This went all right as long as the men were talking, but when Miss Anna Parnell chimed in with her reminiscences of prison life, it was too much for the butler. He thought he had got into a long firm, and he fled out of the door and I never saw him again." The tables were dissolved in laughter and the situation was saved.

One chapter in my life was the direct result of these weekly meetings at the Contemporary Club. Although I have wished to keep out of this volume all questions of political controversy, it is impossible in tracing the influences which have most affected my life to avoid referring to the question of Home Rule.

I learned in Trinity that the Christian faith was introduced into Ireland, alone of all the countries of Europe, without persecution and bloodshed. To the saints of the Irish Church the evangelisation of Western Europe had been due in no small degree. St. Columba, St. Columbanus, St. Gall, and others, had carried the message of the Faith up the Rhine, through Switzerland, and into Germany. Europe owes much to these devoted confessors and scholars.

In the later political history of Ireland, I found that the first Act passed by the so-called rebel Parliament of James II., before the battle of the Boyne, was a declaration that no person should be persecuted for his religious opinions.

The history of the early nineteenth century furnished grotesque illustrations of the fanatical intolerance of the Protestants in their opposition to Catholic Emancipation. They had behind them nearly three centuries of political supremacy and domination. What happened in these centuries was described in the sentence by my old tutor, Dr. G. F. Shaw, which I have already quoted.

In their terror lest the position should be reversed after the emancipation of the Catholics, the Orange orators in 1828 threatened "to kick the King's crown into the Boyne," and one of them, more heroic than the rest, finished a speech with some verses of his own, which concluded :

> To prevail in the cause that is dearer than life,
> Or crushed in its ruins to die.

But the Catholics received the franchise, and these threats of civil war vanished into thin air, to be revived again in 1868 when the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was threatened.

On this occasion the father of one of my most intimate friends in Trinity concluded a vigorous speech by saying, "If we cannot valiantly win, let us nobly die." In 1886 he had neither won nor nobly died. Instead of being in a noble grave he was Recorder of Dublin, while his son, who in later years was a respected Land Commissioner, went over to England during the 1886 General Election, for the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, to repeat the same threats of civil war.

In my visits at this period to the South of Ireland, I found that whilst the Roman Catholics were in the overwhelming majority, there was a complete absence of that *odium theologicum* which marked the North. A Wesleyan minister, himself a Unionist, told me of a visit he paid to a dying Orangeman in Belfast, who spoke confidently of his hopes for the next world for this reason, "I have done my duty; I have cursed the Pope every twelfth of July." Another friend told me of a mother, who was asked if her child could sing any hymns, and replied, "No, but he can say very nicely, 'To hell with the Pope!'"

The Catholic population would have too keen a sense of the ludicrous to return the compliment in kind, but this temper simply did not exist where the Roman Catholics were in the majority.

Reverting to the Club discussions of Home Rule, it happened one night that the importance was suggested of emphasising to the English nation the existence of a number of Irish Protestants who believed that Home Rule was a wise and just policy. To effect this end some of us at once formed the nucleus of what became the Irish Protestant Home Rule Association. We arranged for a meeting in Dublin which proved very successful, and I was then appointed with our Secretary, Mr. Oldham, and Mr. (now Sir) Thomas Myles, to wait on Lord Plunket, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, who was known to be sympathetic with the national aspirations.

Lord Plunket received us most courteously, and whilst declining to join our movement, expressed his strong disbelief in the possibility of Catholic intolerance as depicted in the Belfast papers. He also gave me permission, nay, rather asked me, to state that I had read his official declaration on the Home Rule question at the Church synod in the previous March, which did not contain a trace of terror or even of the slightest fear of persecution from Rome if Home Rule should be carried.

It is interesting to note that his grandfather, Lord Plunket, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, made one of the finest speeches against the Act of Union, which concluded with this peroration: "For my own part I will resist it to the last gasp of my existence, and with the last drop of my blood, and when I feel the hour of my dissolution approaching, I will, like the father of Hannibal, take my children to the altar and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country's freedom."

While these events were taking place in Dublin, the General Election was drawing very near, and there was a great demand for speakers from Ireland, especially among

Protestants who supported Home Rule. Our Association decided to send J. G. Swift McNeill, W. M. Crook, myself, and one or two others as representatives to England.

Our special message was to assure English voters that Home Rule would not mean the persecution of Irish Protestants by their Catholic fellow countrymen. We argued that self-government is the great enemy of clericalism, and that, immediately Home Rule was granted, Liberal Catholics would unite with Protestants and would form, as in Belgium, a strong anti-clerical party. Nothing that has since happened has weakened my conviction that these contentions were sound.

On my arrival in London I met Michael Davitt, the most charming of the Irish Nationalists, who telegraphed to me later to keep an appointment he had made for me to meet Parnell at the House. I received the telegram after the hour fixed, but a day or two later I learned that Parnell wished me to take one of the seats in Parliament which were then practically in the gift of the Irish leader. This was out of the question. My work for India stood before any political ambitions.

The story of the Home Rule movement has led me away from my life in College. At the end of my second year I was elected Treasurer of the Theological Society, and had secured the Oratory Medal and the President's prize essay for the year; I was elected Secretary of the Historical Society and President of the University Temperance Society. At that moment it seemed that the blue ribbon of University life—the Chairmanship or, as it was called, the "Auditorship," of the Historical Society, which corresponds to the "Unions" of Oxford and Cambridge—was within my reach, but I was to have a proof of the truth that Thomas à Kempis puts thus: "They that to-day take thy part, to-morrow may be against thee, and often do they turn round like the wind." It was a lesson for life.

What happened was truly Irish. The well-known son of a very well-known father went to the rooms of the Historical Society one day and said, "I am going to sit here day after day and tell lies about Lunn till he is beaten for the Auditorship." He then started a number of legends which had no foundation whatever in fact, mainly bearing on my relation to the Purity Society with which I had nothing whatever to do, except having given the Inaugural Address. He depicted me in graphic terms taking a dark lantern to Mecklenburg Street, a notorious street in Dublin, and turning it on the faces of men who were going to certain houses. The story flew round the University that I had been the means of the dismissal from the Bank of Ireland of two highly respectable clerks whom I had met in this street. A letter from the Secretary of the Bank of Ireland, stating that no clerks had been dismissed, did not kill the rumour. As the year went on the excess of popularity which had led to my being elected to the posts named above was steadily vanishing. I was pelted with eggs. My rooms were screwed up one Saturday night, and I was due to preach on the Sunday. I descended by a ladder and took my service, putting the ladder in W. M. Crook's rooms for the day, and returned to my bed at night. The next day the carpenter came and extracted screws about eight inches long with the heads knocked off.

Finally, while I was away on the Home Rule campaign, the loyalist student "moonlighters," as they proudly called themselves, broke into my rooms, passed a unanimous resolution consigning me and Parnell to the Abyss, destroyed my furniture, broke my pictures up, cut my bedding to pieces, and poured oil from my lamp upon it. They stopped when they realised that if they lit it they might burn half Trinity down.

I heard the news just at the end of my campaign, when I was staying at Harrow Weald with H. P. Cobb, M.P. for Rugby. Mrs. Cobb recommended me to go and tell Stead, and wrote a letter of introduction to him. It was a great event for the young University student to be given an introduction to the most famous editor of his generation. I went to my room at midnight, and, in keen anticipation of the event of the coming day, wrote my first article entitled, "Lessons of the General Election."

When I saw Stead the next morning he said, about the wrecking of my rooms, "This is not a question for me; you must bring it before your Board and, if necessary, I will support you." He accepted the article which I had written, and this was my first introduction to him and to journalism.

On my return to Trinity I appealed to the Board for compensation, and a few days later met the present Provost, Dr. Mahaffy, who was then my tutor, and has been my friend ever since. As my tutor, he had presented my case to the Board, and when I met him in the large quadrangle I said, "What has happened at the Board, Dr. Mahaffy?" Just then my former tutor, Dr. G. F. Shaw, came up, and Dr. Mahaffy turned to him and said, "Here, Shaw. This man Lunn wants to be compensated for the wrecking of his rooms." To Dr. Mahaffy's surprise, Shaw, although a prominent Tory, said, "Certainly Lunn ought to be compensated, Mahaffy. It is men who take their own line who are the salt of the earth. Would you have us all crushed beneath the Juggernaut of identity? Would you have us all like Dr. Poole?" The point about this was that Dr. Poole was a venerable old Fellow of the strictest evangelical type, who believed that there was a Jesuit in every household.

The views of the Tory leader writer were not approved by the Board. They agreed with Dr. Mahaffy, and I was not compensated.

It will be judged from these incidents that my candidature for the Chair of the Historical Society, a position which had been held by Archbishop Magee, Lord Ashbourne, Isaac Butt, J. F. Dillon, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Robert Emmett, and a number of other distinguished loyalists and rebels in the days gone by, was not successful, and I was defeated by a considerable majority by a man whom I had beaten by a large majority the year before for the Secretaryship.

The failure to secure the Chair of the Historical Society left me free to go and help the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, who was then Wesleyan minister at Brixton. In my fourth year of medicine I spent the time from Christmas to Easter with him in that London suburb, and attended lectures at St. Thomas's Hospital.

These three months were intensely enjoyable, but it made my work very heavy when I returned to Dublin to finish my courses. However, I took my examination for M.B. in the spring, and at the end of June the examination for Bachelor of Surgery, and presented a thesis for M.D. which was accepted.

My life at Trinity had been intensely enjoyable but almost breathless in its activity. In four years I had taken my last year of Arts and the Degree Examination; the junior year in the Divinity School and the examination, and one term of the senior year; three yearly theological examinations for the Wesleyan Methodist ministry; and the four years' medical and surgical course. During this time I had preached frequently in Dublin and taken an active part as speaker and officer in the two College Debating Societies. I had also gone through a General Election Campaign from Clapham to Inverness, and had done three months' work as the colleague of my strenuous friend, Hugh Price Hughes. It had all passed in "one crowded hour." It is good to be young. I never understood why the writer of Ecclesiastes said, "Childhood and youth are vanity," just after he had said, "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth." That last sentence was good advice. There was no need to spoil it with the pessimism of a disappointed old age.

I had now completed my residence at Dublin University, and my marriage alone intervened between my departure from the University and my entry upon what I expected to be my life's work as a missionary in India.

CHAPTER V

HUGH PRICE HUGHES (1886—1887)

Meeting with Hugh Price Hughes—Attitude to the English Church—Letter to the *Spectator* in 1868—Encounter with Mark Pattison—His Theology influenced by Westcott—"Social Christianity"—I become his Assistant at Brixton—My Ordination and Marriage—An Irish Archbishop's Wit—An Oxfordshire Vicar and the Holy Communion—Archbishop Temple on Nonconformists at the Communion Service.

From the non-Christian standpoint, we are bound to appear irrational, quixotic, futile. If we do not appear so, it is because we have lowered the flag, and are striving to fight the world with its own weapons.—
J. R. FIGGIS.

So in light and shadow the preacher went,
God's erring and human instrument;
And the hearts of the people as he passed,
Swayed as the reeds sway in the blast.
—WHITTIER, "The Preacher."

THE political events of the last chapter led to my connection and intimate friendship for the rest of his life with one of the most remarkable men that Methodism has ever produced. Four days after I had begun my three weeks' election campaign I received a telegram followed by a letter from the Missionary Secretary to whom I was responsible: "Stay political action. Await letter. Wesley, London." This had been redirected from Dublin. On its receipt I immediately telegraphed for an interview with Hugh Price Hughes, who was then editor of the *Methodist Times,* of which I was the Dublin University correspondent. He welcomed me at his home in Brixton with great cordiality and sympathy, but said at once, "You must not sacrifice your life's work even for this great issue. I will go with you to the Mission House." We found the Missionary Secretary, Dr. Jenkins, away, and we decided that I should write a conciliatory letter explaining my position, and fulfil my engagements in Inverness, Cumberland, Lincolnshire, and various London constituencies until I received his reply.

Dr. Jenkins, with great consideration, waited till the election was practically over before replying.

As we went from Brixton to the Mission House I informed Hughes of my wish to spend three months at the London hospitals and do some work in a London suburb, and thus get to know London laymen who might help my proposed work in India. I had already been ordained. He at once said, "You come as my assistant to Brixton. I am holding a series of meetings in connection with the proposed West London Mission, and it will be a great relief to me if you will preach for me in my absence in the provinces, and assist in the pastoral work."

He introduced me to his work in the following characteristic way. He said: "Well, Lunn, I am going for a week's rest. You must take charge until the Mission which I shall hold on my return. You will take the Watchnight Service on Friday. On Sunday you will preach in the morning at Brixton." (The church held about 1,200). "In the afternoon you will conduct the Annual Covenant Service and administer the Sacrament. In the evening you will preach at Brixton again. Every night during the week you will give an address preparatory to the Mission. I am off. Good-bye," and I was launched into a position of almost overwhelming responsibility.

Thus began a friendship which lasted with increasing intimacy until we were separated by his early death in 1902.

Hugh Price Hughes was probably the greatest influence in Methodism since the days of John Wesley. In many ways he resembled Wesley. Both were great ecclesiastics, and both possessed unusual gifts for organisation and discipline. They shared the keen desire that Methodism should be, not

THE REV. HUGH AND MRS. PRICE HUGHES

a sect, but part of the Universal Church. Probably no one realised as I did Hughes's intense eagerness for union with the Historic Church. Quite accidentally I met in a Dublin maternity hospital a lady taking out a special course for Mission work abroad, who had known Hughes intimately in his college days twenty years before. She was greatly interested in the similarity of my views with those which Hughes (whom I had only once met) had expressed in her home. She told me that Hughes was the author of a remarkable article in the *Spectator* of August 29, 1868, signed "One of the Methodist Left"—a fact which I believe no one else in Methodism knew. The article was written just at the time when Dr. Pusey had made overtures to the Wesleyans to reunite with the Church of England. *Punch* published a famous cartoon in which Maid Methodist was represented as going to Conference, and Dr. Pusey as asking her where she was going. The following lines were under the cartoon :

"Where are you going, my pretty maid?"
"I'm going to Conference, sir," she said.
"May I go with you, my pretty maid?"
"Just as it please you, sir," she said.

In his article Hughes attacked, with his wonderful vehemence and fire, the Methodist *patres conscripti* for their blunt refusal to consider Dr. Pusey's overtures. Claiming to speak for the younger ministers and for the Methodist Left, he said, "The Methodist Conference is a far more oligarchical institution than the Government of ancient Sparta. A man entering our ministry must 'travel' (i.e. be employed in the regular ministry) fourteen years before he can vote at the Presidential elections or possess any legal *locus standi* in the Conference. . . Hence, as very few enter our ministry under twenty, men are considerably past thirty (at which age even a Spartan was allowed to take part in the public assembly and was eligible to the offices of the State) before their opinions are really known. . . . The Conference, speaking roughly, only represents the opinions and wishes of the Methodist ministers who are on the other side of forty. . . . The official manifestoes of Methodism always express the sentiments of the last generation; the children of the present are not heard. And yet, it would be well sometimes to hear the children, for their opinions will sway Methodism when our dear fathers have gone to their reward.

"I do not think that most young ministers contemplate the Catholic faith with a great terror, or pelt Catholic Christians with opprobrious epithets. They heartily echo the sentiments of a letter to a Roman Catholic by the Rev. John Wesley (Dublin, A.D. 1749) in which our revered founder, then in the full vigour of his ministry, exhorts his 'Catholic' brother to 'resolve, first, not to hurt one another; secondly, to speak nothing harsh or unkind of each other; thirdly, to harbour no unkind thought or unfriendly temper towards each other; fourthly, to help each other in whatever we are agreed leads towards the Kingdom. So far as we can, let us always rejoice to strengthen each other's hands in God.' Sir, tears fill my eyes, while my pen almost incredulously transcribes such sentiments from such a man in such an age. Is it possible that upon our shoulders has fallen the mantle of that boundless charity, that devoted apostleship? Are these the sentiments of the late Conference? 'If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham.'

"In relation to Dr. Pusey, I think no inconsiderable proportion of 'this generation' will be found to agree with the *Saturday Review* (even that irreverent paper thinks so) in its opinion that Dr. Pusey was not treated too courteously by the late Conference. When a clergyman of his attainments, sanctity, and position invited a body of Nonconformists to the consideration of religious questions that concern both, however widely they may differ from any of his tenets, they should at least give him occasion to exclaim, as Sir W. Scott exclaimed of a more secular body, 'Things are yet in the hands of gentlemen,' a result not obviously attainable by suspicious shrieks about 'golden baits' and highly delicate insinuations that we had better go on to the order of the day. . . .

"The Rev. T. Jackson's uncompromising *dictum,* that 'the amalgamation of Methodism and Churchmanship'—a curious expression of the old gentleman's—'is legally, morally and religiously impossible,' is only a *dictum* after all. He not unwisely considers it 'useless to argue the case.' We all admire Mr. Jackson's character, and respect his extensive learning and venerable age; but we peremptorily refuse to permit even his *ipse dixit* to foreclose an argument of this importance. The obvious rejoinder, for argument there is none, to Mr. Jackson is that 'amalgamation may perhaps in a few years' time be legally, morally, and religiously possible.' In this conflict of *dicta* the venerable Dr. Jackson has the advantage of age, in so much as he is older and more experienced than we are; we have the advantage of age in so much as we are younger and less experienced than he is, and shall therefore be able to repeat our dictum after he has been gathered to his fathers. At the age of 45, speaking generally, a man's intellect becomes stereotyped. After that period the experience and fixity of his mind increase his grasp of stationary truth, but he is incapable of properly appreciating the fluctuating phenomena of transpiring events. What was impossible in Father Jackson's day—which is surely passed now—may not be impossible when our children have learned that ours is a gospel of peace. . . .

"The best and most God-like spirits of all churches that worship Jesus of Nazareth are daily yearning and praying for closer intercourse and a more real community of glorious toil."

This article—a strange forecast of his attitude at Grindelwald—evoked bitter replies in the Methodist papers of that day, when the Methodist leaders were probably further removed in spirit from the Church of England than at any other period of her history. If the authorship had been known, judging from the leading articles in the Methodist papers of the day, Hughes would no doubt have been forced to leave Methodism, and the history of Methodism and indeed of religion in England would have been greatly affected.

Notwithstanding this passion for unity which caused him in later years to advocate the re-union of the different Methodist bodies, an attempt which has already led to great results in Canada and Australia, he had a deep loyalty to Methodism which was quite compatible with his appreciation of the historic position of the Church of England.

On a memorable occasion at a public meeting in Oxford, presided over by Mark Pattison, the Rector of Lincoln College, he gave a crushing rebuke to that great figure in Oxford life. In the course of his speech he said, "I congratulate you, Sir, on being the head of a College which counts among its fellows John Wesley, the founder of a communion which numbers to-day in English-speaking countries twenty million adherents." "You mean twenty thousand, Mr. Hughes," said Mark Pattison. Thereupon Hughes, in his wrath, hewed Mark Pattison in pieces for his ignorance, as an English clergyman, of the great work done by a former Fellow of his own college.

Hughes was never in spirit a Dissenter. It was significant that the phrase which he made proverbial in the columns of the *Times*—"The Nonconformist conscience"—was not "the Dissenters' conscience." He was much nearer to the Non-Juror Bishops of the seventeenth century than to their contemporaries among the Puritans. He never conformed, but at heart he was in the largest sense of the word a Churchman, and a High Churchman, a title which his friend Berry always claimed for Hughes and himself.

In one of the Grindelwald Conferences on the Education problem, he suggested as a solution that the Apostles' Creed should be taught in all the State schools. This evoked angry comments in the *Times* from the old-fashioned leaders of Dissent, Guinness Rogers and others. Hughes and I read the *Times* as we were driving down the valley of the

Inn to Tirol, and I never forgot his comment. He said meditatively, but with great emphasis, as though he were expressing a latent but deep conviction, that if this spirit triumphed in the Liberal party, he would have to reconsider his political position rather than surrender the youth of the nation to secular teaching.

In his theology he was Johannine rather than Petrine or Pauline. Westcott's commentaries on St. John influenced him equally with Westcott's teachings on the social duties of the Church. He was never happier in his preaching than when expounding the deep mystical truths of the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel where Jesus says: "I am the Living Bread which came down from Heaven. If any man eat of this Bread he shall live for ever, and the Bread that I will give is My Flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." To him, as to Wesley, it was his indisputable privilege in the Holy Communion to "feed upon Christ by faith in his heart." As he stated in one of the Grindelwald Conferences in a discussion which, unfortunately, was never reported, he accepted the teaching of Bishop Hooker and the great Anglican theologians on the affirmation of the Church of England that "the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received *by the faithful* in the Lord's Supper."

Confronted by the increasing gravity of the social problems of the age, he constantly asserted that the great duty of the Church was "the reconstruction of Society on a Christian basis." In his teaching of the application of Christianity to the needs of the people he followed closely Maurice and Westcott, but he also claimed that his true forerunner in teaching the duty of the Church in regard to great issues of social reform was John Wesley. Wesley, he pointed out, founded the first dispensary for the poor. Wesley's last letter was addressed to Wilberforce, urging him to persevere in his efforts to destroy "that sum of all villainies, West Indian slavery," and in this matter to go forward, even though opposed by men and devils, as an "Athanasius contra mundum." In the same spirit Hughes fought on the great moral issues of the day, and his example was an inspiration to all who worked with him.

Before the three months of my work at Brixton were ended our friendship had become the greatest influence in my life, and I was indeed happy when he said to me one day, "I have never had a colleague who, I felt, understood and sympathised with me as you do. You must go to India, but I wish that it were possible for you to stay and help me in founding the West London Mission." His devoted wife said to me, "You would add ten years to my husband's life if you could stay." But I had decided on India, and to India I was to go for a while.

The following extract from Miss Dorothea Price Hughes's life of her father vividly describes the story of the commencement of our friendship. Referring to her father's life at Brixton, Miss Price Hughes writes:

"He made friends widely as he always did when he had time and opportunity, and in particular the loved friend of his life, Dr. Lunn.

"Dr. Lunn was at that time at Dublin, taking a medical course, preparatory to becoming a medical missionary. The banner which agitated our household was flapping over the whole country in that year—1886—as Mr. Gladstone had appealed to the country over his Home Rule Bill. Dr. Lunn, who shared my father's keen interest in social and political issues, was a member of the Protestant Home Rule Association, and had come over to England to campaign in its behalf and that of the Bill. He had just started on his tour when he received a telegram from the Mission House worded, 'Stop political action. Wesley, London,' which left him in some perplexity.

"My parents had visited the Wesleyan Theological College at Headingley, while Dr. Lunn was there a year or two previously, and he had been struck, like everyone else, with my father's personality. Dr. Lunn saw in him a new order of minister—one who was keenly interested evidently in scholarly pursuits, and the thought of the day, and was yet an impassioned and popular evangelist. . . . Such a champion, and one who was a Home Ruler to boot, would certainly befriend a young minister in his present difficulty, so Dr. Lunn telegraphed to my father asking if he could see him, and arrived at Brixton shortly after my father's reply.

"Resistance was felt to be the more legitimate, as it was undoubtedly believed at the time—though one does not know with what justification—that the authorities were themselves actively engaged in backing the Conservative and anti-Gladstonian party.

"To Dr. Lunn's surprise, he said resistance was not legitimate. He owed obedience, he insisted, to the Church. There was a divine right of rebellion against authority in the Church and out of it, but it was rare—oh, very rare—and the occasion had to be fully worth it and the rebel the discreetest of persons. Freedom of speech and opinion, the ventilation of grievances, was one thing which he had always advocated in Methodism, as his hearer knew, but to disobey direct injunction of the authorities was quite another. My father's advice was quite consistent with his own conduct at college and after it. He had never disobeyed a direct mandate of the authorities. . . .

"In the spring of 1887 Dr. Lunn came to take a preaching appointment in the circuit, and had further intercourse with my father. They dropped into intimacy at once. 'Here's this fellow Lunn!' my father called out to my mother on the morning that he arrived. Their buoyancy and joy in each other's society were quite intoxicating. They would sit out on the balcony overlooking the strip of back garden until late in the night, talking of their plans and of the future, my mother joining with them. Dr. Lunn was considerably my father's junior, and his contact with him at an impressionable period, as well as the special interest and affection that my father in his turn at once conceived for him, was to lead to a friendship that was deep and unbroken. . . .

"Dr. Lunn's interest in the world at large and in politics was a quality that appealed to my father. He would go and listen to debates in the House and describe them afterwards, to his listener's intense delight. Moreover, he would pull my father's arguments to pieces and take him by the horns on all occasions. These horns resembled those in a fable. You had only to make for them and they vanished in your grasp; indeed, a lamb looked up at you."

I had been ordained in July, 1886, at the end of my four years' probation, and I graduated in medicine and surgery in June, 1887.

On July 12, 1887, I married Ethel, eldest daughter of Canon Moore, Rector of Midleton, County Cork. This was, I believe, the first time that a Wesleyan Methodist minister had married a member of the English Church Union, for my wife was still a member of that High Church Society. On our wedding day we both realised that on the great fundamental truths of religion we were in essential agreement. The Calvinism of Irish Evangelical Churchmen, by which she had been surrounded in early life and against which she had instinctively revolted, was as alien to the teaching of John Wesley as it was to the teaching of the English Church Union.

An amusing incident occurred in connection with my marriage, of which I only heard after my return from India from Mr. H. E. Fox, author of "Why Ireland wants Home Rule." He had been present in 1886 at a meeting in the Rotunda, addressed by Mr. John Redmond, at which I also spoke. I happened to rouse his enthusiasm by speaking in strong terms of the unlikelihood of Catholics persecuting Protestants under Home Rule, and he had quoted from my speech in his book. On my wedding he wrote, asking us to visit his country place, and he promised, if we came, to invite priests from six neighbouring counties to meet us. However, we felt that the shores of Bantry Bay and the beautiful solitudes of Killarney and Glandorf were more to be desired at that time than the witty stories of half a dozen jolly Irish priests at his hospitable board.

He planned another surprise for me, which luckily for my father-in-law's peace of mind did not come off. He wrote to the parish priest at Midleton and told him that the Protestant Rector's daughter was about to be married to a strong Home Ruler and urged that he should get the local Land Leaguers to decorate the streets. Even now I shudder to think of what would have been the effect on the Protestant society gathered that day at the Rectory if this had happened. However, it did not come off, but some little time later Mr. Fox was crossing the Irish Channel with Dr. Walsh, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, to whom he complained that Father Fitzpatrick had not adopted his idea. "Sure," said the Archbishop, "he's too lazy to have done such a thing even for the wedding of the Holy Father himself." Only a genuine Irish Archbishop would have dared to use such an illustration.

Our very happy and untroubled engagement covered two Christmases. On the first my *fiancée* was visiting a cousin in a little Oxfordshire village, of which the Vicar was Henry Barter, son of the friend of Newman, Pusey, and Manning. His wife, daughter of Bishop Moberley, another leader of the Oxford movement, was her greatest friend at that time. On my arrival I called with her at the Vicarage, and Mr. Barter at once carried me off into his study and said, "I understand you would like to come with Ethel on Christmas Day to the Holy Communion." I replied that I had not spoken of it but should be glad to do so. Thereupon he asked me if I believed the Nicene Creed. I at once said that it was of course recited in the Methodist Communion Service, which was identical with that of the English Church. This was a striking lesson to me which I never forgot, of how completely the best and most cultured of the clergy of the English Church fail to realise how near they are in thought and purpose to those who are serving God in other communions.

Accordingly, on Christmas Day we attended Holy Communion together.

When I returned from India to live in the parish of St. Pancras as the colleague of Hugh Price Hughes, I met our Vicar, the Rev. Luke Paget, now Bishop of Stepney, whom I have the privilege of counting among my most honoured friends. I asked him if he had any objection to my communicating on Christmas Day with my wife. He asked if I would mind his consulting the Bishop. The Bishop (Dr. Temple) told me afterwards that he telegraphed, "Let Lunn decide, that is his business." It was a characteristic reply, but I think Bishop Paget was bound by his own rubrics as a consistent High Churchman.

I have recorded these incidents because of their bearing on my later action, and their relation to what was to be called in a future controversy, "The Grindelwald Communion."

CHAPTER VI

MISSIONARY LIFE IN INDIA (1887—1888)

Unity in the Mission Field—First Impressions—Madras—Subramanyam—Medical Missions—Tiruvalur—Views of Educated Indians on Missions—Indian National Congress—Methods of the Salvation Army—Lectures at Kumbakonam—Illness—Experiences of a Salvation Army Captain—Gulf between Europeans and Natives—The Madras Christian College—Criticisms of Missionary Policy—Breakdown in Health—Return to England.

> While the West was extending its material empire over the East, the East was permeating at a thousand points the life and thought and worship of the West; and in this warfare of religious influences it was no longer in the main Greece but Asia that was the giver, and Europe the receiver.—CUTHBERT HAMILTON TURNER.
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> I am debtor both to Greeks and to Barbarians, so, as much as in me lies, I am ready to preach the Gospel.—S. PAUL.

MY life as a missionary in India was to be a short and chequered one, marked by a series of illnesses which compelled me to return home. Nevertheless, this year in the mission field was of great value to me in emphasising the infinite distance which separates Christianity from the other religions of the East, compared with which the barriers that divide Christendom are indeed trivial. "Changing China," that able record of Lord William Cecil's visits to the mission stations of that country, revealed the effect upon a High Church clergyman of those problems of heathenism with which the missionary work of the whole Church has to cope, and in this respect the experience of the young Methodist missionary was similar to that of the High Church bishop.

As in the Great War we speak of Mongol, Cossack or Serb as "Our Allies," and realise that the purpose of all the nations confronted with a common danger is one, so the ecclesiastical and social barriers that divide us at home are largely, and should be entirely, disregarded in the Mission Field, in our common conflict with superstition and paganism.

I could not have found anywhere one who would have thrown herself more heartily into her husband's work as a missionary than my wife did. In all the bitterness of the Missionary Controversy, in all its "tragedy of errors," none of the Indian missionaries, however much they might distrust and denounce her husband, failed to recognise that our compulsory return to England, in consequence of my ill-health, had robbed the Mission Field of one devoted worker. In giving herself to work among Indian women she had looked forward to a life of hard work and complete self-denial, and we both left England fully expecting a life of considerable hardship, as I believe practically all missionaries of all communions do.

On our outward journey we called at Aden, where her brother, Colonel R. Heber Moore, was stationed. When we saw his bungalow, which was much inferior to any missionary's house I ever entered, I well remember her saying, 'How delightful it would be to have a nice house like this in India."

On reaching Madras we found ourselves staying at the Wesleyan Mission House in Royapetah, a fine bungalow which had very nearly been purchased some years before for the residence of the Bishop of Madras. The grounds of several acres contained a chapel, two schools and a bungalow for two lady missionaries.

This contrast was only the first of many impressions which led to my writing, on my return to England, the articles which caused "The Missionary Controversy."

My stay at Madras was valuable because it brought me into close touch with some of the leading Indians—Christian and Hindu. About a fortnight after our arrival we dined at the house of Subramanyam, a Christian barrister of the

Brahman caste, a graduate of Madras University, and a cultured gentleman in the best sense of that much-abused phrase. He was later one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. Mrs. Subramanyam was an able woman, the daughter of one of the earliest Indian ministers of my church. I found that Subramanyam was a prominent member of the National Congress which had met twice and was to hold its third meeting in Madras a month later. I learned that the object of the Congress was to stimulate a national sentiment for the whole of India which is at present a conglomerate of nations of the most mixed description, only held together by the tie of the British crown.

There was then one great contrast between this movement and the Irish National movement. The bitterness and hatred of England which have, to such a large extent, characterised the Irish movement, were *at that time* almost non-existent in India. As Subramanyam said, "The very last thing we desire is to be rid of English rule. We cannot do without England for at least two hundred years yet. All we ask is that England will carry out her principles now that she has herself educated us into accepting them, and will give us the right to govern ourselves as we develop the ability to do so."

When we left Madras it was decided that I should visit various Mission centres before beginning work, especially the Medical Mission at Arcot and our own famous Orphanage at Karur.

At Arcot I first learned how largely the provision of excellent Government hospitals and dispensaries all over Southern India had made the work which we had in view far less a necessity than our missionary authorities had given me to understand, and had themselves believed. Dr. Heckhuis, the head of the American Medical Mission, made certain statements, which he afterwards repeated in a letter that he sent to our London committee, from which I will quote the following paragraph :

"I am convinced of the fact, as I told you in December, 1887, that in many districts of India the necessity for medical missions has passed away. Medical missions formerly did a good work, and still do so in parts where they are firmly established and where Government leaves the work to them; but I believe that the time has gone by for establishing new missions in places fully or even partly occupied by Government dispensaries. In my opinion it is a waste of time, energy and money to try to establish a medical mission where Government dispensaries are occupying the ground. Formerly the case was different. But now all this has changed. Dispensaries have sprung up everywhere, even within two miles of this hospital, and thus interfere very much with the attendance and the usefulness of the work. I feel sure that under the present circumstances we should not think of opening a new dispensary here or in any other part of our mission, and I sometimes feel that it might be better to give up the medical work and devote myself entirely to evangelism pure and simple."

When I reached my station of Tiruvalur I found that the Government medical provision for the neighbourhood included a well-fitted and well-managed dispensary at Tiruvalur itself, with five other effectively equipped hospitals and dispensaries within seventeen miles.

Shortly after beginning work there I received an urgent letter from Subramanyam, repeating an invitation to attend the Third Indian National Congress, which I accepted. All my fellow missionaries considered it a great opportunity for studying the character and aspirations of the leading men of India.

On my journey to Madras I travelled with two Indians of education and great intelligence. One of them, G. S. Appusawmy, was a Christian delegate from Tinnevelly to the National Congress, a lawyer and an Episcopalian. The other, by name Pinto, a Government official of the Revenue department, was a Roman Catholic from the West Coast and a friend of Appusawmy. They both seemed to think that the number of native Christians was largely on the increase, but that this increase was more from internal growth than from external accretions. "You see," they said, "there is nothing to hinder and everything to encourage the rapid increase of Christians by natural causes, as they are better educated and more thrifty than their heathen neighbours, and besides, by their connection with different missions, they are practically insured against the ravages of famine." They also said that the difficulties in the way of a man becoming a Christian were much less than in former years. At the same time Pinto added that in his opinion there was a great tendency on the part of educated Hindus to stand much more firmly than before by the religion of their fathers. He said, "You in your Christian colleges and your High Schools teach them the facts of your religious history without imbuing them with the spirit of Christian teaching. You cast your pearls before the pigs and they turn again and rend you. They go on in your schools and colleges to read Spencer, Bain and Mill, and they say, ' These are not children; these are grown up; and they don't believe in Christianity. Neither will we. You tell us that our religion is absurd. Not more absurd than that a fish should carry a man to his port. If wrong practices have grown up in our religion, we will repudiate them and return to the truths of the Vedas.' Then, because they are armed with the double-barrelled gun of the facts of your religious history and the teaching of their own sacred writings, they are too much for the missionaries, who are at best only one-sided men, and one-barrelled, and only know the facts of their own religion."

I wrote in my diary at the time, "This was a pretty strong indictment, not of Christianity, for both men were Christians, and believed that Christianity must one day prevail, but of our modern methods of devoting so much of our missionary energies to education, methods adopted by Protestants and Catholics alike." As Appusawmy said, "In former days men were won by the enthusiasm of the missionaries; to-day that enthusiasm is spent in semi-secular education and pastoral work."

This was the first incident that seriously aroused my suspicions as to the value of missionary educational work.

The Congress itself was a marvellous assembly. Representatives of all the many nations that compose the great Indian Empire were there. In front of the platform sat the Bengali Babus, dressed in black coats, orthodox trousers and shoes or boots. In complexion many of them were scarcely darker than Italians, and the contour of their features was decidedly of the Indo-European type. To the right of the platform sat the men of the Punjaub and the North-West Provinces. They were dressed in truly Oriental style with many-coloured turbans, and very richly embroidered dresses cut in native fashion. To the left sat the Bombay representatives, also in Indian dress. Behind and between their visitors sat the men of the Madras Presidency, dressed generally in native style, but some of the Indian Christians wore English suits. Amongst these delegates prevailed the Tamil type of face, with aquiline nose and the other Dravidian features. The gathering of delegates numbered seven hundred, and they were surrounded by a thousand spectators. It was a sight to inspire any Englishman as he realised that this wonderful concourse had been rendered a possibility under English rule.

The National movement was then in its earlier stages, and the demands formulated in the official resolutions were extremely moderate. The case for the Nationalists was argued with a brilliancy of style and a cogency of reasoning which would have given these debates a high place in the records of Hansard. The President, Budruddin Tyabjee, was a Parsee of exceptional ability, whose son passed first into the Indian Civil Service, but his career was unfortunately cut short by an early death. Surendra Nath Bannerjee, Kali Churn Bannerjee, W. C. Bonnerjee, and other statesmanlike speakers pleaded their cause with eloquence and dignity.

During the Congress I came in touch for the first time with the Salvation Army in India. The contrast between our methods and the methods adopted by the Army raised grave doubts in my mind. The doubts afterwards found expression in the articles which I contributed to the *Methodist Times*. The following is an extract from my diary:

"In the evening of the second day we went to the Evangelistic Hall to attend a demonstration of the Salvation Army. They are doing marvellous work, or, I should say, making a remarkable attempt to win India. They are sending English lads and lasses out here by fifties; immediately on landing they adopt native dress and native habits. This is no mere joke or whim. It means walking barefoot on burning roads, dressed in a single cloth wrapped round the whole body, and wearing a warm turban as a protection against the sun, instead of our light pith helmets. It means living almost entirely on rice at an expense of 2s. 6d. a week each.

"There is a good deal about this movement that is very doubtful, as, for instance, Commissioner Tucker's way of marching along, as we saw him to-day, under a canopy supported by four men, dressed like a Hindu Fakir or Dervish, and preceded by a huge banner on which was written, 'To-night at 6 p.m. Commissioner Fakir Sing (Tucker).' Nevertheless one could not help remembering that Tucker had given up an income of £800 a year in the Indian Civil Service."

At the beginning of the New Year we settled down in Tiruvalur to what we hoped and believed would be a life's work. It was all intensely interesting and engrossing. The native church welcomed us with New Year's greetings of garlands and presents of oranges, limes, bananas and pomegranates, and they were followed by the Temple band, which, with a catholicity exceeding that of Grindelwald, played airs of welcome, while the Hindu visitors at Tiruvalur followed, bringing more garlands and fruit.

My work was first of all to give some hours daily to grappling with the difficult Tamil language, to superintend the dispensary which was awaiting me on my arrival (managed already by a trained Indian Christian dispenser), to look after the schools, of which we had several in the little circuit, and to prepare lectures for educated Hindus, who would understand me in my own tongue. My wife left me far behind in her rapid acquisition of Tamil, and soon became deeply interested in the girls' schools, in which our mission in all parts of India does such excellent work.

All was going excellently when, on the 29th of January, my first serious illness occurred. I had been to Kumbakonam, a great University town in Southern India, and had given a lecture on my impressions of the National Congress. The lecture was attended by a large and enthusiastic audience of young Brahmans. I was overheated and took a chill on the seven hours' night journey back to Negapatam, where I was due to preach on Sunday. Instead of being able to preach, I found myself prostrated with a violent attack of fever which in a fortnight reduced me almost to a skeleton, and it was thought desirable for me to go by sea to Madras for medical advice and sea air.

This illness was a keen disappointment as my reception at Kumbakonam had been exceedingly friendly, and I had arranged through Narasimha Iyer, the Brahman Judge of Tiruvalur, with his Brahman friends at Kumbakonam, to give the following course of lectures during the year: "Christianity and the Nation," "Christianity and the Family," "Christianity and the Individual," "The Character of Jesus," and "The Claims of Jesus," these to be the five religious lectures. Five secular were to be: "Lessons from the lives of the three Roman philosophers, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius," "The Science of Health, The Town," "The Science of Health, The Home," "The Science of Health, The Person," and, lastly, "Subjects with which the National Congress of 1888 ought to deal."

At the conclusion of my lecture at Kumbakonam I had explained the need for courage, perseverance, and self-denial. I then read to them the following extract from a letter which I had that morning received from my old Headingley friend, Bradfield: "I cannot help feeling sorry for these native gentlemen meeting in convention to promote the national feeling, etc. One cannot but sympathise with their cause, but they are surely destined to some bitter experience of the hope that makes the heart sick; because, unless I am altogether mistaken in my ignorance, they are more out of touch with the 'masses,' the millions of their own countrymen, than they are with English officialdom. England will never give a caste of educated men power, nor heed much the suggestions of a little band of professors and theorists, and it will take them long to lift the dead weight of the millions into an atmosphere where they can even feel the need for self-government."

I read this extract as an experiment to see what answer I could educe, and the experiment succeeded. The seconder of the vote of thanks was a Brahman, Professor of History at the Government College, M.A. in History and Political Economy of the Madras University. He spoke somewhat as follows:

"What is the history of the English Constitution? Have the millions of England always understood the great struggles that have taken place for political freedom? When Stephen Langton, on the plains of Runnymede, won the Great Charter from the tyrant John, the charter which is the very foundation of English freedom, was it the millions or a handful of barons that supported him? In the struggle during the reign of Henry III. the people were beginning to make themselves felt, but still only very slightly, and even in the struggle between the Parliament and Charles I. how many of the men who struggled for freedom represented boroughs whose constituents were very few?" He then went on to say, "We want Dr. Lunn to come over here again and lecture to us on co-operation and teach us how to work together."

The hopes of my Negapatam friends that the voyage to Madras and back would restore me to health proved ill-founded. On March 8th I had to record another bad attack of fever with suppurating tonsillitis, and to recognise that the climate was striving hard to upset me. As the doctor said, "Whenever any man comes to this country looking specially robust, the climate seems to say, 'I'm going for that man.' I've known miserable creatures come out to this country who could scarcely crawl and never have a day's illness for years, but it is robust men like you that the climate attacks most severely." On the invitation of Professor Geden, I decided after five weeks' illness to go up to his place, Leith Castle, on the coast of Madras, to recruit thoroughly.

There was one incident which occurred during our short stay at Tiruvalur, before this illness, which I ought to quote from my diary, as one of the factors which led me on my return from India to advocate a *Via Media* between the present style of missionary living and that adopted by the Salvationists.

"We were driving out one morning about seven when, as we passed through the bazaars, we saw two Europeans in native dress selling newspapers. The natives, thinking we ought to see them, at once called our attention to them. We stopped and found that they were two Salvationists selling the Tamil 'War Cry.' As I wished very much to hear what the Army was doing in India, we asked them to come and breakfast with us at 10 o'clock. They at once accepted, with the proviso that they were strict vegetarians. In good time they arrived at our bungalow. They were dressed in the most rigid native costume with salmon-coloured turbans, a loose-fitting jersey of the same colour with 'Salvation Army' worked on it in Tamil, and a cloth of the same colour wrapped round the loins and legs. They always walk barefoot, a terrible ordeal in hot weather, as even the natives wear sandals in the heat of the day. These two were both captains; they had been six months in the Clapton Training Home, and came out in August in what was called the 'Jubilee Fifty.' One of them was an Australian; the other, Captain Maynard, was an ex-Methodist from Tunbridge

Wells. He was very willing to give me information, and told me a good deal about their method and success. He said that they had adopted the native dress and habits for two reasons—first, on grounds of economy, and, secondly, because they believed that if Christianity was to become the religion of India it must be promulgated by men who were by birth, or by adoption of every native custom, natives of the country.

"In South India they are at present trying an entirely new experiment. In the North they have aimed at making converts of any class they could get hold of, with the result that none but pariahs and the lowest classes have been converted. Here they are devoting themselves solely to the Brahmans and high-caste Sudras. The work at Tanjore has been carried on for six months and only one convert from heathenism has been made. In Trichinopoly they have had better success, having made about ten converts in three months, of whom three or four are Brahmans. In fairness to these results it should be said that they are only now learning the language and have not yet got thoroughly under weigh in these places. In the North at Gujerat, where they work among all classes, they are making about a hundred converts a month. Their expenses are astoundingly low. Twelve of them live at Tanjore in one house and only spend between them one rupee a day (1s. 5d.) over their food. Imagine keeping twelve adult Englishmen on 10s. a week. When they are living singly at separate stations they receive five rupees (7s.) a month pay. I mentally agreed with Maynard when he ingenuously said, with reference to someone who had returned from the mission, 'You see it takes a great deal of consecration to keep it up.' For himself there was no mistaking the consecration."

My journal of March 26th shows the growing feeling that many of the missionaries in India were separated from their own converts, and still more from the bulk of the population, by a racial gulf that was a terrible obstacle to missionary enterprise. On that particular day I had been invited to a garden party by a distinguished Christian Brahman, Subramanyam. Subramanyam said that he had invited a few missionaries who were "in sympathy with the natives."

A short time after this garden party I dined with Dr. Jesudasan, a distinguished graduate of Madras University, M.A. in Natural Science, Doctor of Medicine and Master of Surgery, who had been appointed Officer of Health in the Madras Municipality. After returning from his home I wrote :

"I was very glad to have the opportunity of two or three hours' talk with such a man. His house and everything about it were, like Subramanyam's, thoroughly English in style so far as a house in India could be. I was sorry to find in him the same tone of dissatisfaction with the attitude of many English missionaries towards the natives, though I am glad to say that he specially exempted Patterson and Simpson of our mission, and Goldsmith of the C.M.S. from his strictures. I cannot understand men who come out to this country to preach Christ and yet are not prepared to meet an educated Hindu gentleman or native Christian such as Jesudasan on terms of equality. He told me of an incident that happened when the old Christian college students were presenting Dr. Miller with an address on the occasion of his receiving the C.I.E. (Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire). He, as President of the Testimonial Committee, was receiving a number of invited guests. Though he was in full academicals, with the M.B. hood on, a well-known missionary silently declined to shake hands with him. Jesudasan happened to be a native Christian, but supposing he had been a Hindu, how would he have been likely to feel with regard to Christianity for the rest of his life ? "

During the first half of April I had rather a bad time with fever, and noted in my journal that I was 30 lbs. below my regular weight after all this long period spent in Madras with the object of recruiting. I was just beginning to recover from an attack of fever when my son Arnold was born on April 18th.

During the latter part of April I had an opportunity of seeing a good deal of the excellent educational work done by the Madras Christian College. I took Patterson's lectures at the College for a week in Scripture, and my journal records the stirring controversies which I had with the students who were evidently well versed in Bradlaugh and Ingersoll, the two greatest preachers of infidelity in those days, and enjoyed heckling a new lecturer.

The Madras Christian College was founded in 1837 and grew rapidly until—at the date of my visit—it was almost the finest educational establishment in India. The expenditure at the time I lectured there amounted to about £7,000 a year, half the amount being contributed by the students. The Government grant amounted to rather less than a quarter, and the Missionary Committee contributed the balance. The students numbered 1,700, and as an educational establishment the College was a magnificent institution. No one could visit it without being impressed by the splendid work that was being done. I am anxious to record this especially, because later on I was driven to the conclusion that too much missionary energy was expended generally over educational work in the different Colleges. Nevertheless, one could not but feel that a great institution like this was rendering immense service to our Indian Empire.

On May 9th I had an attack of fever which only lasted a few days, but was very disheartening as my stay in Madras was ending and there was very little improvement in my health.

Just after this illness I had an interview with Captain Maynard, of the Salvation Army, the officer who had stayed with us at our station at Tiruvalur. In my journal I wrote what follows of this interview and of my conversation thereon with Simpson and Goudie, two devoted missionaries, living in the style ordinarily adopted by Europeans, but just as anxious to see India won for Christ as the Salvationist.

"That the Salvation Army are making headway in India is clear. Goudie and Simpson were both surprised at their record for the past twelve months. In the North they have been working for some time, and are making many more converts than in the South, where they have only been working about a year. But even down here they claim to have made two hundred converts, of whom twenty have gone as cadets to their Indian training home. This last is the most important item, as the Salvationists offer their converts nothing but maintenance if they become soldiers, about five rupees (7s.) a month, while we give our catechists from fifteen rupees to twenty-five rupees. Our friends at home may be kind enough to believe that our ordinary missionaries are ' offering themselves up ' in coming out here, but it does not present itself thus to the average native mind. Taking all the great English Missionary Societies—S.P.G., C.M.S., Wesleyan, London Missionary, Baptist and Presbyterian—the average missionary income is about three hundred pounds a year and a house. I am sure no one at home will think this is a penny too much, and from the English standpoint it certainly is not. But how does it look to the natives? Three hundred pounds at the present rate of exchange is four thousand five hundred rupees, and the average wages of the agricultural labourer here are four rupees a month. It will be seen at once that our incomes bear the same relation to those of the working classes here that the Bishop of Lincoln's income does to that of the Lincolnshire peasants. Great as have been the services rendered to Christian theology and apologetics by the occupants of the English Episcopal Bench, no one looks to the Bishops to carry out the evangelisation of the masses. And what is true of England is true of India. The great bulk of the people will not soon be affected by men as far removed from them socially as my brethren and I are."

I should like to comment on this statement with further knowledge of life. S. Francis de Sales when he was Prince

Bishop of Geneva was a most successful mission preacher. It must be remembered, however, that he was a celibate, and that his generosity was not restricted by ordinary domestic claims. One day, when his secretary told him that there was no more money for the poor, he said, "Well, then, sell the furniture." If there had been a Madame de Sales, he would probably have been trained to greater prudence. Cardinal Manning, another Prince of the Church, got very near to the people in the Dockers' Strike and on other occasions, but he again was a celibate and an ascetic. The present Bishop of London has always been most successful in his mission work, and his published budget of expenditure has shown how modest is the personal expenditure of the third highest in the ranks of our spiritual peers, but he again is a celibate.

My journal goes on: "I believe that I have shown often enough in these letters that the average missionary is really doing a noble, self-sacrificing work, and a work among the higher-caste natives that these Salvationists could hardly do; but this belief in the mission work of the past does not prevent me from acknowledging cheerfully that these men have realised a standard of self-sacrifice and devotion complete and entire. However, their system is still on its trial, and it remains to be seen whether English men and English women can live in India on one shilling and sixpence a week, and carry out such a work without a fearful expenditure of life and health."

On further experience of India I came definitely to the conclusion, as is here forecast, that the European could not work successfully under the conditions of life of the Hindu population. I recommended a *Via Media,* and the development of a much larger and more responsible Indian ministry. It is interesting to record that during the last few years an Indian has been consecrated as a Bishop of the Church of England in India. Although I still hold that the parallel drawn between the position of an Indian missionary in relation to the agricultural classes around him, and that of the Bishop of Lincoln, was correct, I am to-day of opinion that the work of many of our missionaries is essentially "episcopal" in character, that is, that they are overseers of very large districts and do not occupy "a false position."

Just about this time there occurred an incident in the Madras Christian College which threatened to shatter the discipline of the whole institution, and although ultimately the authorities triumphed, the record of those days furnished the most vivid illustration of my main contention in my articles on the educational work of the missionaries. The missionary higher education, though rendering a great service to the Brahmans, and aiding greatly in their intellectual development, was not "evangelistic" in any real sense, and was not even intended as such by those who carried it on.

The trouble originated in the decision of a Brahman student named Subroya Sastri to accept Christianity. He made known his wish to be baptised during the last week of April. Dr. Miller, the able Principal of the College, was absent in Scotland on furlough, a most unfortunate thing as the event proved. It was Dr. Miller's invariable rule to make any student who wished to become a Christian first face the persecution of his friends by avowing his decision, and then, when he had given proof that he was prepared to suffer for his faith, and not until then, some missionary unconnected with the College might baptise the student. Patterson, as my journal records, was very averse from having any other plan pursued in this case; but unfortunately some younger men insisted on taking the convert to the house of the Rev. N. Rea before his friends knew anything of his intentions. This was on Saturday, April 29th. The news spread rapidly among the students. A meeting was hurriedly summoned on Sunday evening in one of the temples, and a deputation sent to Rea's house to request that the boy might not be baptised, or his caste broken, until his friends had been sent for and allowed to interview him. Rea gave the required promise, but on Monday morning the students were still in a tremendous state of excitement, and the first Arts class of two hundred and twenty men was so disorderly that it was quite impossible for the work to proceed. At last the uproar became so great that Patterson and the Acting Principal, Mr. Cooper, went together to the room, suspended the whole class, expelled three of the students, and fined the remainder three rupees each.

Then followed a great scene of excitement; the students thus suspended refused to leave the College, and crowded the corridors, which had to be forcibly cleared by the professors. At four o'clock in the afternoon a large meeting was held on the beach, the chair being taken by one of the best students in the Senior B.A. class, a Brahman named Gurusawmy Iyer. Strong resolutions demanding an apology and the remission of the fine and sentence of expulsion pronounced in the morning were proposed and seconded in speeches of a very violent character. About two hundred of the students signed a memorial stating that they would not return to the College till all their demands were granted.

The struggle lasted the whole week, and caused the greatest sensation all through India. All the native papers, the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, a violent Anglo-Indian anti-mission paper, and several other journals, supported the students. The College officials were wavering, and the Senatus would certainly have succumbed if it had not been for Patterson's firmness. He, however, summoned a meeting of the Senatus for Saturday morning, May 5th, and there proposed a series of drastic resolutions, fining Gurusawmy Iyer twenty-five rupees, and all the forty speakers at the different meetings ten rupees each, and giving them the alternative of either signing a complete apology before the following Wednesday or being expelled. Thirty-seven of the students signed the apology and paid the fine, but Gurusawmy and three others stood to their guns. Altogether the College authorities scored a tremendous disciplinary victory which was enhanced by a telegram from the Director of Public Instruction, received on the Thursday after the Wednesday fixed as the last day for the apology. This message stated that no expelled or recalcitrant student would be received into any Government-aided college, a decision which would have prevented any of them from entering any of the learned professions.

So far the professors were victorious, but in the case of the convert it was a Pyrrhic victory. On Friday, the 11th, Subroya Sastri's parents and wife arrived by steamer. The interview was a most pitiable scene. The wife threw her arms round his neck, the mother and some other woman clutched each an arm, while his father threw himself at his feet, and with much weeping besought him not to bring despair on his family and leave his beautiful young wife a widow and an outcast, for such she would be if he became a Christian. It was too much for the poor fellow, and after a few hours of such entreaties he renounced his intention of becoming a Christian and went back to Hinduism.

We left Madras on May 19th for Tiruvalur, where I was again attacked by fever immediately on arrival, but recovered in a few days.

My journal a few weeks later showed the influence exerted upon me by what I had seen in Madras of the higher education policy. Speaking of the visit of my Chairman (or Bishop) and his decision to change one of the schools which had hitherto been carried on for Brahmans and high castes into a school for the lower castes and pariahs, I wrote, "Mr. Little has a very strong opinion that we are doing too much for the Brahmans and high castes, and that it would be well to let them pay for their own education more completely and manage their schools themselves, and devote our energies to educating the degraded masses. I think he is quite right."

During the whole month of June I was able to work on steadily, but my son Arnold had begun to have fever and my own health was very much below par.

In the third week of July my health and Arnold's again drove me away from my station, Tiruvalur, and this time we went to Mannargudi to see if the change would benefit us. Here my health continued most unsatisfactory until the middle of October, when Arnold's condition became very serious, and for a few hours he was at the point of death, whilst I had another attack of fever. As Arnold continued seriously ill, we decided to take him up to Madras and consult the best medical men about both him and myself. The two doctors whom I consulted, Dr. Porter, the Senior Physician of the General Infirmary and Principal of the Medical College of the Madras University, and Surgeon-Major Branfoot, both said emphatically that my health would not justify me in entering upon an expensive medical mission, and the latter added that my complete breakdown was by no means an unlikely event.

In face of these opinions there was no course open to us but to return to England, and we sailed from India on November 19th, a year and four days after the date of our landing in Madras.

Hughes had expressed such a strong wish to have me as a colleague in the West London Mission that I knew on my return to England I should go to him. On arriving in England I interviewed the Missionary Committee, who agreed to my transfer to the West London Mission.

CHAPTER VII

MISSION WORK IN WEST LONDON (1890—91)

Characteristics of Hugh Price Hughes—Discipline—Disinterestedness—Chivalry—Work for Social Purity—Music Hall Campaign—St. James's Hall Services—Lord Rosebery—Belle Bilton—"The Sisterhood of the People" and Mrs. Price Hughes—Mark Guy Pearse—Charles Ensor Walters—J. E. Rattenbury.

> The soul of all improvement is the improvement of the soul.—HORACE BUSHNELL, quoted frequently by Hugh Price Hughes.
>
> Our aim should be the reconstruction of society on a Christian basis.—HUGH PRICE HUGHES.
>
> The best modern conscience is to be reached and touched and won in no way so effectively as by a strong and consistent appeal to the principle of brotherhood.—BISHOP GORE.

IMMEDIATELY after my return from India I began work in the West London Mission, then centred at St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, under the direction of Hugh Price Hughes. Nominally, I was his colleague for some twenty months, but actually, we were intimately associated until separated by his death in 1902.

His speeches at the Reunion Conferences show his devotion to Our Lord's ideal of the unity of the Church. In this chapter I wish to write of other characteristics which he shared with the great saints of the Catholic Church.

His enthusiasm for reform greatly alarmed the elders of Methodism in the earlier part of his ministry, but they little realised his strong sense of the duty and virtue of obedience as part of the Christian character. To his young and turbulent colleague this aspect of his personality came as a startling shock in the Home Rule campaign of 1886, and again and again in later years. Before I went to India, when his heart was set upon commencing that great Mission in West London which he founded, the success of which attracted the attention of the whole religious world, I travelled by train with him and two other ministers—T. B. Stephenson and Ernest Clapham—who urged upon him the serious position of the Foreign Missionary Society, and suggested to him that he should become Missionary Secretary. To my astonishment he quietly replied to this effect: "If it is the will of Christ, and agreed to by the Conference, I will go." He thus showed his willingness to abandon his great idea of founding a Mission to West London if obedience to the Conference required it.

Again and again this conception of the essential duty of obedience, a virtue which is not stimulated by the strong individualism of Dissent, decided for him great questions of policy.

Nor had he a less keen appreciation of the Catholic virtue of voluntary poverty. Like John Wesley he insisted passionately that no man had a right to hoard up money with which to curse his children. By this rule he lived. While other preachers with his popular gifts would have enjoyed, and indeed in other communions were enjoying, large incomes, he rejoiced in the Methodist system of allowing each minister a subsistence salary only, modified according to the expenses incident to the district in which he lived. It would have been an easy matter for him to have accumulated considerable wealth by charging high fees for lectures and addresses on special occasions, and no criticism would have been incurred by one whom so many men were anxious to hear. Hughes would have none of it. Excepting a legacy from his father, and a wealthy layman's gift of a house in the country—both of which came to him shortly before his death—he lived and died a poor man. St. Francis of Assisi was one of the saints whom he most honoured. Great was his pleasure when I invited Monsieur Sabatier to lecture at Grindelwald on St. Francis, and his friendship with the biographer of the saint lasted till the day of his death. It was in harmony with his whole life that his last act should have been to attend a lecture by Sabatier at Sion College on "St. Francis and the Twentieth Century."

He had also a profound sense of the value of the Catholic insistence on the virtue of chastity, although he was the very antithesis of a harsh misogynist. For him the love of woman had made lust for woman a hateful thing. To him the song of the Mother of Our Lord, sung in countless generations by the Universal Church, was the charter of womanhood: "My soul doth magnify the Lord. . . . For behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed, for He that is mighty hath magnified me, and Holy is His Name." If one woman had been privileged to speak thus, all women were to be loved and reverenced. With the Beloved Disciple from whom he had learned so much, he had stood in spirit beneath the Cross, and heard the Crucified say, "Behold thy Mother," and motherhood had become to him a very sacred thing.

In this spirit of reverence for womanhood—the true test of knightliness—he had, as a young man, plunged into the fray to aid Josephine Butler in her campaign against the State Regulation of Vice. For the victims of the traffic he had the tenderness of his Master, Who said to such a one, "Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more." But against the social conditions which had driven women who, in all their degradation, were still sisters of the Blessed Virgin, to forget the honour God has bestowed upon womanhood, he fought with the enthusiasm and heroism of the noblest of the knights-errant.

For these reasons, because he reverenced motherhood and womanhood, because with his teacher, Frederick Denison Maurice, he esteemed the family to be the sacred unit of national life, his attitude was very definite on two memorable occasions, when the sanctities of the home and the family were outraged by the deeds of two great statesmen.

One short and decisive campaign which he supported with great weight was the campaign for the purification of music halls, initiated on the London County Council by Sir John (then Mr.) McDougall. Our share in the conflict began in the following manner:

One Saturday night, in 1889, we were holding a prayer meeting for the officers of the Mission at Lincoln House. The conflict in the County Council was mentioned, and Hughes at once said, "We must have a meeting in St. James's Hall instead of the weekly prayer meeting on Friday next." He then instructed me to secure a chairman at once, the Bishop of London by preference, or, failing him, Cardinal Manning or Archdeacon Farrar, and I was at once sent to Fulham Palace.

Bishop Temple told me that the notice was too short, and that he must consult his clergy before taking the chair at such an important meeting. I drove over to Westminster and saw the Cardinal, who replied that he had the profoundest sympathy with our endeavour to secure pure entertainment for the people, to which working men might take their wives and daughters without any fear that indecent interpolations (popularly called "gag") would be inserted in the pieces. At the same time he said, "Whatever reasons Bishop Temple has for not taking the chair, I have seventy-two." (He was then seventy-two years old.) He added, "I will, however, write strongly to Lord Rosebery, the Chairman of the Council."

During our conversation the Cardinal made one impressive reference to W. T. Stead. Referring to Stead's campaign on "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon," he said, "I never saw a man more animated by the passion for the salvation of souls than Stead was during that campaign." I came away feeling that if a Cardinal Archbishop of the Roman Church could thus testify to the high purpose of a Dissenter of the Dissenters such as Stead, there was more real unity underlying the efforts of all good men to save the world than either they or their critics perhaps realised.

Archdeacon Farrar also refused to take the chair, and I returned without having secured a chairman.

Hughes, on receiving my report, at once sat down and wrote a passionate letter to the Bishop of London, in which he urged him as "Chief Pastor of this great Metropolis" to take his proper place in this struggle against demoralising and degrading influences. On Sunday morning I returned to Fulham Palace with this message, and Bishop Temple agreed to preside at the meeting.

St. James's Hall was crowded on the Friday evening with an audience composed of those interested in music-halls, members of the Mission, and men of the world outside. London had been stirred to its depths by the conflict within the County Council. Mr. McDougall had been attacked by certain baser elements of the secular Press for his endeavour, as a member of the Council, to secure decent recreation for the working classes and the young men and women in the great West End shops. Bishop Temple, who presided, spoke with characteristic vigour, and Lady Sandhurst, Sir Wilfrid Lawson and others supported him. A body of muscular young stewards, directed by a portly evangelist—Josiah Nix—who had been accustomed to the rough-and-tumble of actual politics before joining the Mission, expelled with deft celerity certain persons who imagined that they could with impunity disturb a meeting of narrow-minded Puritans and were unprepared for the rubicund faces and muscular arms of this ex-politician and his allies.

The Rev. Stewart Headlam, who had done good work with his Church and Stage Guild, tried to move an amendment, but was promptly stopped by our vigorous chairman. I never met Mr. Headlam again until many years after, when an old clergyman died—"Father Tom" Handcock, of Harrow—whom we both loved and honoured. Spontaneously and unknown to each other, we wrote appreciations of our friend for the *Church Times,* and I found myself taking the chair at a meeting at Harrow, when Mr. Headlam spoke on Mr. Handcock's life and character.

After the meeting I took a memorial signed by Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of London, Hugh Price Hughes, and others, to Lord Rosebery, Chairman of the Council. Lord Rosebery received me with an air of amusement, and was particularly anxious to know how his old Eton friend, Stewart Headlam, had fared at the meeting.

Under Hughes, St. James's Hall on Sunday afternoons became a centre for the consideration of great public questions that bore on the life of the Church. The evils of wealth and poverty, gambling, militarism, drink and other social cankers, were dealt with in a manner that made Hughes a leader on all these questions. "I beheld the City of God . . . come down from God out of Heaven," was a text he constantly quoted. This was the vision to which he was never disobedient. To make London worthy to be called the City of God was his ultimate goal, and

> "Though the tired waves, vainly breaking,
> Seemed here no painful inch to gain,"

yet nothing ever shook his confidence that some day—far off, it might be, but still a day to be lived for and worked for—the great redemptive purpose of his Lord would be fulfilled.

But his power was most vividly shown on Sunday evenings when he insisted that "the soul of all improvement is the improvement of the soul."

Lord Rosebery, the ex-Prime Minister, a Duchess, a philosophical writer, G. J. Holyoake, the famous Secularist of days long gone by, and other strange visitors came from time to time to the anteroom before the service to ask for a seat, but no thought of their criticism altered his simple message. "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me," was ever sounding in his ears and ringing through his appealing words. He spoke with the forensic skill of a trained barrister and the confidence of a prophet, and, as he would have expressed it, endeavoured all through his passionate addresses "to convince a jury of twelve multiplied two hundred times that they should bring in a verdict against themselves and for Jesus Christ." One understood, in listening to the marvellous logical force of his pleading that sinners should accept Christ as a personal Saviour, the full force of his father's reply to his letter, saying that he wished to be a Wesleyan minister, "I would rather you were a Wesleyan minister than Lord Chancellor of England." He used the gifts that would have placed him in a high position on the judicial bench to "convince men of sin, of righteousness and of judgment."

There was in Hughes a fund of humour, and a real sympathy with human nature in all its phases, little suspected by those who regarded him as a mere Dissenting Boanerges, which the following incident will illustrate.

It was my duty on Sunday evenings to take an overflow service in Prince's Hall—now Prince's Restaurant—the attendance at which varied from nil on a rainy night to eight hundred on a fine Sunday. On that gloomy Sunday which followed the British defeats at Colenso, Magersfontein and Stormberg, the elements were in sympathy with the spirits of the nation, and there was no overflow. Lord Rosebery came unexpectedly into the anteroom, and after Hughes had given him one of the workers' seats he came back to me and, as was his custom, said, "You will take the opening prayer, Lunn." Never had I felt the task more difficult. The whole nation was mourning the dead and looking to the future with the profoundest anxiety and misgiving. I could not but be conscious of the presence of the Liberal leader who had supported the policy of the war, and had carried my own friend in sympathy with him. But the thought of the stricken families of both British and Boer peoples soon crowded out all other emotion. As we walked away from the hall Hughes suddenly turned to me and said, in his genial way, "I never heard a man go so near making a political address to the Almighty as you did to-night, but you just missed going over the precipice."

On another Sunday Belle Bilton, at that time a famous music-hall artist and afterwards Countess of Clancarty, came into the inquiry room and had a conversation with one of the sisters, who was gifted with infinite tact and sympathy. Sister Lily gave her a copy of "The Pilgrim's Progress," which she brought back to Hughes the following Sunday with the comment, "This is one of the most interesting novels I have ever read." He forthwith invited her to come home with us to supper. At these Sunday evening suppers he was always happy. The burden of the two messages for the day was lifted, and he was free to allow his wit and fancy full play with the guests of all kinds who gathered under his hospitable roof. Another guest that evening was a rising M.P., Junior Lord of the Treasury, and it was with a certain enjoyment that Hughes asked him to take Belle Bilton down to supper. I often wonder what the music-hall proprietors would have thought if they had dropped in upon that very happy little party at the supper table of their *bête noire.*

No account of this year and a half as Hughes's colleague would be complete that did not refer to the work of the Sisterhood. He had a strong conviction that Protestantism had lost greatly in its revolt from Rome by sacrificing the due claim upon the devotion of the daughters of the Church. In the series of great meetings all over the country with which the Mission was inaugurated, he emphasised unceasingly the call to cultured women who had not married to be wedded to Christ in a life of consecration to His Body the Church in all its manifold activities. "The Sisterhood of the People," the happy designation which he gave to the band of earnest women who gathered round his wife, Katherine Price Hughes, to work in the dark slums of Soho and Marylebone, undertook tasks of the same character as those which occupied the lives of St. Catherine of Siena and St. Catherine of Genoa. The Sisterhood became a centre of help for the sick and dying, the outcast and the wanderer. Its dispensary, its *crèche,* and its rescue home carried on the work of the Good Physician, the Friend of little children, and, above all, the Friend of the outcast and the sinner.

It may be well to record an illustrative incident in the life of the Sisterhood. One Wednesday morning Hughes and I left his home for a committee meeting at the Mission House, Bishopsgate Street. Thence we went to the office of the *Methodist Times,* where he wrote various editorial notes on current topics, and we passed the paper for press, returning in the late afternoon to Taviton Street. In the evening we went together to the Sisterhood, where he conducted the service at which one of the sisters "took the veil" after her period of probation. His address that night, in spite of such a crowded day, was characteristic in its theme. It expressed his ideal both for himself and for the sisters. "I was not disobedient to the Heavenly Vision," the Vision of Self, the Vision of Christ, our Saviour from Self, and the Vision of the World, needing the Redemption of Christ. Such a subject gave full scope to the expression of his passionate devotion to Our Lord as the basis of his life. To the one who was that night consecrating herself to the same tasks, his sermon must have come as an unforgettable inspiration. The service concluded with the Holy Communion and the reception of the probationer as a full member of the Sisterhood.

I have deliberately used the phrase, "took the veil," because until this service was concluded the probationer did not wear the veil adopted by the Sisters, and because, in the mind of Hughes, there was a definite act of consecration involved in joining the Sisterhood, which ought only to be transcended by the sacred call to be a wife and mother, if that call should come.

Hughes had as his senior colleague a character remarkably complementary to his own. Whilst Hughes was essentially an ecclesiastic, Mark Guy Pearse, who joined him in founding the Mission, cared nothing for ecclesiastical matters, but shared fully his colleague's passion to make men conscious of the love of God in Christ Jesus. Gifted with great artistic powers, his preaching was enriched by a wealth of illustration and parabolic teaching, and a breadth of sympathy which placed him easily in the front rank of the preachers of London. His private resources enabled him, and his spontaneous generosity led him, to give largely to the Mission from the sums which he received from his publishers for books which have had readers by the million. Above all, notwithstanding a slight seniority in years, he was a most loyal and affectionate colleague to Hughes. Of his personal friendship to me, and of his steadfastness in the dark days of the Missionary Controversy, I cannot cherish too warm a memory. He still lives to help by generous contributions the Mission which he assisted so largely to establish on a firm foundation.

The Mission was continued with conspicuous success after the death of Hughes by the Rev. Charles Ensor Walters, who was possessed of great insight into Hughes's ideals and had many other qualifications for the position.

When the owners of St. James's Hall sold it, to be rebuilt as the Piccadilly Hotel, the Mission was without an adequate centre, a difficulty which has only been overcome recently by the building of Kingsway Hall. From this centre the manifold work of the Mission is carried on under the supervision of the Rev. J. E. Rattenbury, a preacher of great power, and a theologian in sympathy with Hughes's devotion to Catholic ideals and teaching. Mrs. Price Hughes still remains, loved and respected by all who know her, to maintain the traditions of the past as Superior of the Sisterhood of the People, and might rightly be termed, in Catholic phraseology, "the Reverend Mother."

CHAPTER VIII

THE MISSIONARY CONTROVERSY (1889—1890)

"Mediæval Methodism"—Position of the Wesleyan Missionary Society—Criticism of Missionary Methods—Articles by "A Friend of Missions" published in the *Methodist Times* — Resentment of Indian Missionaries—Meeting of Missionary Committee—Conference Committee appointed—Reports to Conference at Sheffield, 1889—Missionaries request Investigation—Commission appointed—Report—Retirement from West London Mission—Offered Post as Chaplain at the Polytechnic—Conference Debate on Polytechnic Appointment.

Brûler n'est pas répondre.—CAMILLE DESMOLINS.

And to be wroth with those we love
Doth work like madness in the brain
—COLERIDGE, "Christabel."

I deem that there is more valour in a lord that holds his castle when it is besieged and assaulted by his enemies, and defends himself so valiantly that he suffers no one of his enemies to find an entrance therein, than there is in one who lives at peace and suffereth no let.—BROTHER GILES.

ONE Friday evening in February, 1890, I accompanied Hughes to a weekly devotional meeting at Prince's Hall. We had been discussing my missionary experiences and my conviction that our work was, in certain respects, on wrong lines, and as we crossed Russell Square he made a suggestion which was fateful for both of us and for Methodism. "Why should you not write," he said, "a series of articles for the *Methodist Times* on 'A New Missionary Policy for India'?"

The suggestion was characteristically daring. John Wesley called "prudence," "the wisdom from beneath springing from the bottomless pit, and leading down to the place from whence it came." [1] In this matter Hughes was his true disciple. It was indeed an ecclesiastical "forlorn hope" to attack the policy of the powers installed at the Mission House, Bishopsgate Street. In 1849 Methodism had been split from top to bottom by a bitter schism which commenced with what were called the "Fly Sheets," anonymous attacks on the leading ministers, and especially the Missionary Secretaries. They were supposed to have been written by Griffiths, Everett, and Dunn, three ministers who were solemnly expelled by the vote of the Conference. The nominal ground of their expulsion was that they declined to sign what was called at that date "Pope Osborne's Test." Dr. Osborne had carried a resolution in the Conference that every minister should sign a paper disclaiming the authorship of the "Fly Sheets." These three men alone had the courage to stand out against this inquisitorial method. They were forthwith, if not thrown "into the burning fiery furnace," at any rate driven out into the wilderness. But they carried with them a large fraction of the parent body, and formed the Methodist Free Church. It was a sad and tragic illustration of the truth that good men will do things in defence of a corporate Body which they would never do in their own interests.

Methodism had its mediæval history in that quarter century, from, say, 1848 to 1873, when Dr. George Osborne dominated the Conference and ruthlessly "dropped" or expelled every young minister who had not a clear and vivid sense of the reality of hell. During those years of great national advance, Methodism, because of schism and smugness, only advanced in membership in a quarter of a century from 338,861 to 348,560; but what was much more serious, it ceased to be a moving camp pitching its tents daily farther into the enemy's country. Instead, it became a series of citadels with its immense town chapels beleaguered by the rising tide of Anglicanism on the one hand and the growth of materialism and agnosticism on the other. It was sad to see this marvellous force of evangelistic ardour which, on the testimony of one of the greatest historians of the century, had decided the history of England, when France tasted the horrors of the "Terror," now surrendering its primacy in missionary efforts at home and abroad.

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[1] Wesley's Sermons, XC.

At such a time mediæval methods triumphed, and Methodism, like Russia under the Tsar, had its Siberia, which it found in the Shetland Isles. Thither turbulent young ministers, and those who had committed such offences as jilting a *fiancée,* were ruthlessly exiled to ponder on their misdeeds. There was a good deal to rouse the envy of other churches, in which lack of discipline was a scandal and a disgrace. At the same time it put a dangerous power into the hands of ecclesiastics.

My ordination in 1886 was, I believe, the first occasion when Dr. Osborne had allowed any man who challenged the old-fashioned eschatology to pass without attack through his examination. My reply to the question on that point was, "I believe the punishment of the finally impenitent will be eternal," with the further statement that I found no warrant in Scripture or otherwise for asserting who, if any, would be "finally impenitent." This made the old lion stir uneasily on the platform, but he did not attack me until three years later in the circumstances I am about to relate.

Doctrinal heterodoxy generally sealed a man's fate, and he was expelled. Shetland or East Anglia sufficed for budding reformers and minor delinquents. In the year of grace 1889, in which the following events occurred, the penal settlement, as such, was becoming a memory, but the idea still remained sufficiently vivid for some minister to shout out, when my own case was under consideration : "Why not send him to Swaffham or Diss? There are plenty of radicals like him there." I have never visited either town, but I salute them in spirit and hope some day to make a pilgrimage to the two places thus commended.

Since 1849 the Mission House had been regarded as the Acropolis of Methodism, and the Missionary Secretaries as the head and front of its official life. The officials dreaded Hughes's "Forward Movement," and all the new ideas that he had introduced as a ferment into the old leather bottles of mid-Victorian Methodism. In clarion tones Hughes had called the Methodist people to grapple boldly with the new problems of the new age inaugurated by the Reform Act of 1885. Just because he was the idol of young progressive Methodism he was the nightmare of these venerable doctors.

The young man whom Hughes wished to support in an attack on the policy of this oligarchy was scarcely thirty years of age—a mere babe from the standpoint of the Fathers of Methodism. As the event was to show, whatever his arguments might be, his own future as a Methodist minister would almost certainly be wrecked. He had a wife and children, and no resources excepting what his own health and energy could discover. But with neither of them—editor nor writer—did these considerations weigh. There was something wrong in our missionary work, and to them it had fallen to try to remedy the evils of the situation.

This impression that there was something wrong was very widespread, as was shown in an article in the *Methodist Recorder,* our official and conservative journal, after the controversy was over. In that article it was pointed out that during the fifteen years beginning with 1877 the income of the Baptist Missionary Society had steadily increased from £35,633 to £52,758, and that of the Free Church of Scotland from £21,272 to £36,953. The Church Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society also showed increases during the whole of this period. The Wesleyan Missionary Society had gone down greatly, from £93,608 to £75,975.

During recent years the laymen of Methodism, ably led by Sir George Smith, have done much to recreate the old Methodist passion for foreign missions, and have raised the income contributed in Great Britain to £158,322 19s. 9d. for the year 1916.

The financial figures were not the only statistics available to make the real friends of Wesleyan missions in India gravely anxious as to the outlook. There were two great missionary societies in India working side by side, the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society of America and the Wesleyan Missionary Society of the United Kingdom.

The returns furnished to me by the officials of the Methodist Episcopal Church showed that this Society had commenced its operations fifteen years later than the Wesleyan Methodist Society, and had in the year 1883 3,393 members against 1,767 in the Wesleyan Missionary Society. By 1892 its numbers had increased to 15,938 against the Wesleyan Missionary Society's number of 3,770.

In Southern India, the chief centre of the educational work which was the object of my criticism, we were at that time spending £13,582 a year, and reported a mere 2,038 members. The Church Missionary Society in the same Presidency spent £3,000 a year more than we did and reported 67,533 members. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel spent £6,000 a year less than we did and reported 46,466 members. The Free Church of Scotland, which had concentrated on educational work, reported in 1888 78 adults and 187 children as the total number of its adherents in the Madras district. The total number received into the mission since its foundation had been 622, and this result had been secured by an expenditure running into six figures. This was a striking illustration of the failure of the educational policy which I attacked.

The Baptist Mission of the Telugu district, which devoted itself exclusively to evangelistic work, was advancing by leaps and bounds, and in one year at one station recorded twice as many converts as the Free Church of Scotland Mission recorded in the entire Presidency during the whole fifty years of its existence.

The bare recital of these figures was sufficient to explain much of the distrust and dissatisfaction which existed in

Wesleyan Methodist circles before my articles appeared. There was a yet more serious fact brought out by the Rev. Henry Little, my own Chairman ("Bishop") in the Negapatam and Trichinopoly district, in a letter which he wrote to England, which was published in the *Methodist Recorder* a fortnight after my last article had appeared, but which was posted from India before my series of articles had reached that country. He gave a very careful analysis of the membership in a district where we had been working for over seventy years amongst three millions of people, with a staff (at that date) of nine European missionaries, six Indian ministers and twenty-one catechists. This analysis brought out the appalling fact that our total membership there was 410, and that of the total number only 111 were gaining an independent livelihood. All the rest were in the employ of the mission, or dependent for their livelihood on others, and were largely the converts of other missions.

Mr. Little himself, after referring to the great success of the American Baptist Mission in Nellore, the American Mission in Madura and the English Church (C.M.S. and S.P.G.) in Tinnevelly, wrote these drastic words respecting his own society's work in the same Presidency:

"In my district we have to-day six native ministers; two of them may be regarded as the fruit of my own work. We have twenty-one catechists, of whom one was won by us from Romanism, and the rest were all baptised outside our mission. With one exception they have joined us for the work and pay we give them. It is twenty-six years since I landed in India, and every year has deepened the impression that we were on the wrong tack."

In my conversations with Hughes I specially emphasised the comparative failure of our Society, due, as I thought, to the excessive attention which it had given to higher education and to the gulf which separates its missionaries from the natives of India.

These conversations led to his suggesting that I should write a series of articles for his paper, the *Methodist Times.* I thought the matter over and ultimately laid before him a scheme for four articles, on the following lines, which he approved:

The first article set out the disastrous results of the policy initiated by Dr. Alexander Duff, the famous Indian missionary, which diverted missionaries from evangelistic work to the promotion of higher education, working amongst the Brahmans instead of going, as the Apostles did, to the common people.

The second article, which was called "The Evils of a False Position," expressed my conviction that it was impossible to evangelise India by means of men who stood towards the natives (in respect of their financial position) much as an English Bishop stands towards the peasants in his county. It affirmed that the social position of the missionary constituted a great gulf between him and the Indians who surrounded him. I definitely expressed my conviction that the Salvationist extreme was impracticable, and that the true policy lay in the *Via Media* between this extreme and the position of the missionaries of the more highly paid societies.

The third article, entitled "The Untrodden *Via Media,*" recommended that the missionaries should adopt a style of living intermediate between the style of living of the regular missionaries on the one hand and that of the Salvation Army on the other.

The last article dealt with missionary finance, and had no bearing on the controversy as it developed.

The articles were all written, set up in type, and then submitted to a number of personal friends, before any one of them was published. Among those who saw them were Mark Guy Pearse, the late Thomas Champness, and James Ernest Clapham, all of them ministers of great influence, also two of my own ministerial contemporaries in whose judgment I had great confidence, my father, and some other trusted friends. The unanimous opinion was that the articles were a reasonable statement of a policy that at least deserved consideration. There were only two remarks made which might have deterred a prudent man from publication. My father said, "If you publish these articles you will not remain a Wesleyan minister twelve months," and one of the eminent ministers to whom I have referred, while feeling it was time that some of the questions raised in the articles were considered, added to the expression of this opinion that he should pity me if I published them. In each case I replied that I was convinced that these views ought to be expressed, and that these considerations did not count.

We made one tactical mistake at the outset. It would have been wiser and better if, before going to the Methodist public with our criticism, we had gone to the committee and laid the case before them. If not satisfied with the result we could then have appealed to the Methodist people. Later experience has convinced me that reforms are more generally carried with ease if the responsible parties are dealt with before their followers are appealed to. This, however, did not suggest itself to us until it was brought forward as an argument against us, and in any case was only a question of tactics.

The four articles were published on April 4th, 11th, 18th and 25th under the thin anonymity of the phrase, "A Friend of Missions." It was at once perfectly well known who had written them, but in order to make it clear beyond dispute I reaffirmed my position in a missionary sermon at St. James's Hall on April 29th, and restated in that great hall my main contention. The storm then broke with tremendous violence. The May meetings were just beginning, and a speaker at Exeter Hall, whose name I will not mention, as he has no doubt repented of his speech long since, brought in, amid wild applause from some of the younger and less disciplined members of the congregation, a reference to the writer of the articles as one of the men who, like Judas Iscariot, looked at Mary's alabaster box of ointment and only saw its commercial value.

The bitterness of the situation was unfortunately greatly exacerbated by a most unhappy but not unnatural mistake on the part of the Indian missionaries. Before I left India I had practically concluded an arrangement with one of the Madras newspapers to send them a weekly London letter. Without giving me any notice of the fact, the editor of this paper had decided not to carry through his arrangement with me, but had secured the services as London correspondent of a gentleman in a much better position to deal with Indian questions than myself, viz., Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., the former Secretary of the National Liberal Club. At that time I had never seen or spoken to Mr. Digby. He read my articles in the *Methodist Times,* and in his weekly letter to the *Hindu* commented on them freely, speaking of Indian missionaries in a way in which I should never have spoken of men whom I honour and esteem very highly, and generally dealing with the articles in a fashion which must have been peculiarly trying to his Indian missionary readers. Knowing that there had been an arrangement that I should write those letters, the Indian missionaries unfortunately concluded that I was guilty of duplicity and cruel misrepresentation, and, smarting under this supposition, they sent to England, through the Rev. James Cooling, Chairman of the Madras District, a formal accusation against me on those lines.

I shall never forget the meeting of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, at which I was invited to be present, when this strange misunderstanding was revealed. I had never been asked a single question by any of the missionary officials, but Mr. Cooling's letter was sprung upon me without notice. When Dr. Rigg, who was a real Triton amongst the official "minnows" of that day, rose to address the committee, some of the members were looking on me with an air of combined commiseration and indignation which I could not understand. Dr. Rigg prefaced his reading of the letter by saying in the most solemn tones that it was his painful duty to state facts which would entirely destroy my character as a Christian minister and a man of honour. He then stated categorically that he would have to deal with me in a threefold capacity:

(1) As the Rev. Dr. Lunn.
(2) As the writer of the articles in the *Methodist Times.*
(3) As the writer of the letters to the *Hindu.*

Sentence after sentence from the *Hindu* articles were then read to the committee, which, if I had really penned them, would have convicted me of the most miserable duplicity and the most heartless attitude with respect to my missionary brethren. At any point a single question would have burst the bubble and ended the indictment. But not thus was a young man to be dealt with.

Directly Dr. Rigg sat down, Hughes jumped up and said, "I have two questions to ask Dr. Lunn. Did you write these articles?" "No." "Do you know who did write them?" "No." Hughes himself in the next number of the *Methodist Times* described the scene as comparable for its dramatic interest with the moment in the Parnell trial when Sir Charles Russell said to Pigott, the forger of the Parnell letters, "Spell hesitancy," and he replied, "HESITENCY"—the way that it had been spelt in the forged letter. The officials were utterly bewildered at the collapse of the case which Dr. Rigg, by his opening remark, had prepared them to believe would blast my character and career.

After a silence that seemed to last ages, one of the Missionary Secretaries said, "I move that those replies be taken down."

I rose indignantly and said, "Mr. President, I protest against this insult offered to a man who is still a brother minister." There was nothing further to be done or said, and the committee broke up.

In the *Methodist Recorder* the next Thursday there appeared an article asserting that in spite of my denial I must be the writer of these articles:

(1) Because the person who wrote them knew Marylebone Road, and I lived off Euston Road in Torrington Square.
(2) The man who wrote them had preached in pulpits in Ceylon, and so had I.
(3) He had an intimate knowledge of missionary life, and so had I.

These arguments, scarcely worthy of an ecclesiastical Sherlock Holmes, were annihilated when, on the following Thursday, the *Methodist Recorder* had to publish a column letter from Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., the Secretary of the National Liberal Club, who said, first, that he was the writer; secondly, that he did not know me; and, finally, that when he wrote the letters he did not know who the writer of the *Methodist Times* articles was.

This complete and final vindication ought to have been followed by a full apology from Dr. Rigg, Mr. Cooling and others, but no apology was forthcoming. The mischief that this mistake had caused was done, and could not be undone. Eight or ten weeks elapsed before the Indian missionaries knew who was the author of the *Hindu* letters, and in that period the passion against the supposed writer rose to fever heat. This preposterous blunder of presuming my guilt before I had ever been asked to plead "guilty" or "not guilty" was only an indication of the attitude of the official world, and their unreasoned and unreasoning action in many other respects. One of the Missionary Secretaries followed up this fiasco by a campaign of erroneous statements against me in my own native county at the annual missionary meetings.

When Conference assembled a letter was read from the Rev. James Cooling demanding that my statements should be carefully investigated and the Indian missionaries assured of the confidence of the Conference. The personal indignation which had been caused by the *Hindu* letters still worked its evil effect. Several ex-Presidents and many other leading men were appointed by the Conference as a committee to consider my articles. Hughes and I were present at the committee and did all in our power to allay the bitter feeling. We asserted again and again that we had only criticised the policy of the society and not its agents, the executive at Bishopsgate Street and not the devoted men in foreign fields.

But I could not and would not unsay the statement of my convictions.

The committee finally drew up a report embodying a statement by Hughes and myself which disavowed any intention to make personal reflections upon the Indian missionaries.

On July 30th, 1889, my thirtieth birthday, this committee's report was presented to Conference. The evening before, I carefully prepared my speech and read the outline to W. J. Dawson, at that time a leading Wesleyan minister. He said to me, "If you deliver that speech you will have to leave Methodism." With the notes of that speech in my hand, I took my place in the gallery of Carver Street Chapel, Sheffield.

Methodism has long been a great power in Sheffield, and Carver Street Chapel is one of those great square buildings erected when Methodism was the "Established Church," as Dean Hook said, of these rapidly growing Yorkshire towns seventy or eighty years ago, before Dr. Jobson—an ex-architect who became President of the Conference—persuaded Methodists to build more pretentious and less suitable Gothic or semi-Gothic churches.

It was a perfect place for speaking. From the choir seats where I sat one commanded the whole building, which held between fifteen hundred and two thousand people. Immediately in front of me was the huge platform built around the pulpit, and seating the President, ex-Presidents, and Secretaries of the Conference. In front of them, on the floor, were the rest of the "Legal Hundred," the ministers elected by their brethren to form the Conference as defined in John Wesley's poll deed by which all the property of Methodism is held. Behind them sat the Chairmen of Districts not yet elected into the Legal Hundred, and the rest of the floor was occupied by senior ministers. In the gallery were the younger members of this remarkable assembly governing Methodism absolutely, in which, until recent years, Methodist ministers had had no right to speak or vote until they had been several years in the ministry.

Those who have never sat in the Wesleyan Conference cannot realise what it meant for a man of thirty to face his fathers and brethren in such an assembly. The power of ministerial life and death rested in the hands of the Conference, and they could destroy in five minutes the career of one from whom they differed, if that was the sense of the gathering.

Our disclaimer of personal attacks was read to the Conference, whereupon a minister jumped up and said: "Does Dr. Lunn hold to his opinions in spite of that disclaimer?"

I said firmly: "I do."

"Then," said the minister, "I think Dr. Lunn ought to speak."

The necessity for asserting that it was debatable whether a man of thirty, fighting for his ministerial existence, ought to defend himself, indicated something of the autocratic character of that remarkable assembly. The President turned round and signified his permission for the "defendant" to speak for himself.

I had my notes lying before me which I had prepared the previous evening in anticipation of this scene. I said: "The word 'luxury' is the only word in the English language that will express my meaning"—that was the word that was particularly attacked. "I went out to India a young man from a middle-class family, and I found a condition of things prevailing there which, to me at least, was luxury." Whilst reaffirming the main contentions of my articles, I claimed that all through I had been actuated by a sincere desire to promote the interests of the Missionary Society.

Immediately my speech was concluded the Rev. W. L. Watkinson, an extreme and brilliant opponent of the progressive policy advocated by Hughes, jumped to his feet and said: "The matter is now quite clear. Dr. Lunn has made tremendous accusations against our brethren in the East. He must substantiate that speech or take the penalty and go."

With characteristic promptitude Hughes rose and said:

"I entirely share Dr. Lunn's convictions. I resolutely maintain before God and man that holding these convictions does not involve personal charges against any of the brethren. In any case I stand by the side of my colleague, and so does Mark Guy Pearse, and any blow that falls upon him must fall upon me also. I greatly regret the Conference does not seem to realise that neither Dr. Lunn nor I intended to make any personal charge against our brethren in India. We criticised the system in the main."

Dr. Rigg, who had great gifts of statesmanship, took a moderating line and made a powerful speech, expressing his sympathy with Mr. Hughes in his work, and urging that the recommendations of the committee should be accepted. At the same time he strongly protested against the contentions of my speech.

Dr. Jenkins disputed the statements made in the articles, whilst, at the same time, giving me credit for sincerity and for believing what I said.

The Rev. William Arthur, one of the most venerable ex-Presidents then living, urged that "The words of Brother Watkinson be taken back."

After further speeches the Conference adjourned, and after the adjournment my appointment to the West London Mission was confirmed, and that phase of the controversy was ended.

The mischief which had been done by the *Hindu* letters could not be undone by any pacific resolutions of the English Conference. The missionaries refused to be satisfied with the investigations of the Conference committee. They met in formal conference at Bangalore, and sent home a detailed reply to my articles, and to a statement issued by Hughes and myself amplifying and supporting the articles by certain figures.

They insisted upon the appointment of a special commission to go into the whole matter. The authorities at the Mission House responded to this demand by the appointment of the President of the Conference, the Rev. C. H. Kelly, four other ministers, and four laymen—the ministers being the Revs. H. J. Pope, Wesley Brunyate, George Fletcher, and Thomas Allen, and the laymen the Right Hon. H. H. Fowler, afterwards Lord Wolverhampton and Secretary of State for India, Sir George Hayter Chubb, Mr. John Clapham, and Mr. H. Arthur Smith.

The Missionary Commission sat for the consideration of evidence on Tuesday, May 27th, Wednesday, May 28th, Thursday, May 29th, and Friday, May 30th, 1890.

It is obvious that for several reasons Hughes and I were placed at a great disadvantage in appearing before this commission. We were undeniably two of the hardest-worked ministers in the Wesleyan Methodist Church. On the other hand the two missionaries who had been chosen by the Indian missionaries as their representatives, Professor Patterson and the Rev. W. H. Findlay, were set apart entirely to deal with the question, and to make out their case. The Mission House expended in all considerably over £1,000 in this preparation. It is scarcely necessary to say that Hughes and I did not spend as many shillings.

But these elements in the conflict were of slight importance compared to the fact that the issue tried by the missionary committee was but a trivial detail, and was not the real issue involved.

As already stated, I had endeavoured to lay down certain main lines of policy which I urged should be adopted. I felt then, as I feel to-day, that a subject nation will never be evangelised by men who are bound up socially with the ruling caste. I felt, moreover, that the educational policy which had been initiated by Dr. Duff, and greatly modified by his successors, was a tremendous blunder on the part of the Christian Church.

The latter question was put on one side in order that the committee might consider how far certain rhetorical expressions such as "luxury" and "feudal lord" (the unhappy constructions placed on them having been already disclaimed by myself) were justified by the facts of the case. To adopt the words of the official resolution under which the commission was appointed, its duty was "to examine into all the facts and statements bearing upon the position and character of the Indian missionaries." The commission affirmed that it interpreted this instruction as having special reference to (1) the charge of "luxury," (2) the influence of their social position upon the missionaries. Thus skilfully and adroitly the main issues were avoided, and the controversy was narrowed down to personal ones, which I had, throughout my original articles, carefully endeavoured to avoid.

The report stated that the word "luxury" was not justified; that there was no specific difference between the purchasing power of stipends as expended in India and the same sums expended in England. It added that "owing to the recent depreciation of the Indian currency the remuneration of the Indian missionaries does not exceed the stipends and allowances paid to Wesleyan ministers in England." Further, it found that "the assertion that the manner or the style of living of the Indian missionaries tends to alienate them from the native population, or hinder the success of their native work, is not sustained." The report then went on to make the following recommendation: "Without expressing any opinion as to the amount of the remuneration of the Indian missionaries, the sub-committee recommends that the stipends should be paid in the silver currency of India rather than as at present—in the gold currency of

England, provided that the rupee is calculated at its par value in respect of any remittances to England out of ministerial income."

When this report was published I telegraphed to Hughes from Yarmouth, where I was staying with my family for a short rest: "This report means victory." When I came up to London, Sir Percy Bunting's sister, Mrs. Sheldon Amos, came to see me on the morning on which the committee was to receive the report. She supplied to the *Westminster Gazette* an account of her conversation with me, in which I said the report was a practical endorsement of my policy. It recommended that the missionaries should henceforth be paid in currency instead of sterling, which meant the *Via Media,* as the sovereign was worth, roughly, fifteen rupees instead of ten rupees—its par value.

The next morning the officials found that most of the daily papers had accepted my view of the report, and the following day the officials denounced my interpretation in the *Methodist Recorder*. They claimed that all the report meant was that a definite number of rupees should be paid, but how many the report did not indicate.

That morning Hughes had received a marked copy of the *Birmingham Post* from Mr. H. H. Fowler, who was the great financial expert on the commission, having been Finance Secretary to the Treasury, and being later on, as I have said, Secretary of State for India. Hughes said: "Go down and see Fowler at the House of Commons." I went down, sent in my card, and when Mr. Fowler came out, I said: "What is the meaning of this recommendation? I have stated in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and other papers that it means so and so, and the *Methodist Recorder* flatly contradicts my interpretation." He replied by taking a copy of the *Birmingham Post* out of his pocket and by reading to me the following passages of the "London Letter" in that paper:

"The Wesleyan Missions Committee met in London today to consider the report prepared by the Special Committee recently appointed to inquire into the allegations concerning the Indian branch of the Wesleyan Mission system brought last year by the Rev. Dr. Lunn and the Rev. H. P. Hughes. The report referred to declared that the Special Committee considered that it had no authority to deal with the question of policy generally underlying the Indian Missions; that it had, therefore, declined to call evidence on the point; and that two of the four points submitted to it had consequently not been touched. It emphatically and without qualification exonerated the Indian missionaries from any charge of hauteur, luxury, and extravagance, but it condemned the policy pursued in the matter of payment by the Missions Committee at home, which had justified the allegations that the missionaries were remunerated on a higher scale than the ministry in England. It pointed out that whereas all other missionary societies pay their Indian missionaries in rupees, the Wesleyan paid in pounds sterling, and that consequently the Wesleyan receiving £250 in gold really took, at the present rate of exchange, 3,400 rupees, while it was intended that his salary should be 2,500—which it actually was when it was fixed—as against 2,700 paid by the London Missionary Society. There are some detailed recommendations concerning salaries in addition, but this is the main point, and after to-day's full meeting it is likely to be early adopted."

After reading this passage he said: "That is my view of what the recommendation means," and it is scarcely necessary to say it coincided with my own. I came away from the House of Commons convinced, on the evidence of its greatest financial expert, that the Commission had practically decided in my favour.

After more than a quarter of a century's consideration I have come to the conclusion which was expressed to me by the Rev. Wesley Brunyate and George Corderoy, and is recorded at the end of this chapter. My critics would have dealt with me more effectively if, instead of spending so much energy on side issues, they had merely replied that, with my limited experience and my honourable and comfortable position in the home ministry, I was not a suitable exponent of a system of self-denial for others. Notwithstanding the appalling blunders of the officials all through the controversy, I realised that the missionaries, whom I loved and honoured for their own sake and for their work's sake, and who to-day hold the same place in my affections, were not unnaturally angry with the young man who had attacked a system to which they were committed. The plea that no attack on them personally was intended was true, but was no justification for failing to foresee their interpretation.

A year had passed since my speech in the Conference, and strong pressure was being put upon me to resign my position in the Wesleyan Methodist ministry. It was felt by many of the friends of the West London Mission that Hughes's work would suffer financially if I remained associated with him.

In these circumstances, as I had been invited by the Regent Street Polytechnic to assist in the religious work of that institution, I saw our President, the Rev. C. H. Kelly, before Conference met, and told him that I was not prepared to accept a vote of the Conference involving action of a penal character, but if the Conference would accept my offer, I was willing to retain my full status as a Wesleyan minister, to work at the Polytechnic, and to retire from my position in the West London Mission.

On reading the debate which took place in the Conference on this simple issue, it is difficult to understand the intensity of the feeling manifested. Practically the whole of the morning of July 24th was occupied with the preliminary discussion, which eventuated in the appointment of a committee of twenty-one members to consider the report on the Missionary Controversy, and to advise the Conference what its action should be with reference to my proposal. A proposal that I should be given what would practically have been a penal appointment to some place in the provinces was negatived by a large majority, and the committee was appointed.

This committee recommended that I "should be permitted to labour in connection with another religious organisation, and be responsible to the Chairman of the Second London District in all matters pertaining to Methodist discipline."

Dr. Watkinson, in a speech manifesting great feeling, moved as an amendment that I should be sent to a country circuit, saying: "Give Dr. Lunn a fitting circuit. Take him away from the tremendous temptations of London—I may say the focus of peril—for his own sake and the sake of the young men there to whom he will minister, for the sake of Methodism at large, and for the credit of our discipline."

The real difficulty before the Conference was that if they penalised the writer of the articles it was difficult to avoid dealing with the editor; and Hughes, with that chivalry which marked all his relations with me, absolutely refused to be separated from me. My position was one of comparative insignificance; I was a young man whom Methodism in any other circumstances would have dismissed without hesitation. It was far otherwise with Hughes, who at that moment, so far as the outside world was concerned, was the most outstanding personality in the Methodist communion.

From the time of John Wesley there had always been one man dominating Methodism—Thomas Coke, Adam Clark, Jabez Bunting, Dr. Osborne, Dr. Rigg—and it was expected by all observers that unless anything interfered with Hughes's career he would come into this line of succession. The fear was that if I were punished and resigned, he would regard my resignation as involving his own. I had written a strong letter to the authorities which, by his wish, was never sent, but which was published in the *Review of the Churches,* offering to take the whole responsibility of the controversy on my shoulders. This, however, he persistently declined to allow.

The Rev. W. D. Walters, who understood Hughes's attitude, supported the proposal that I should be allowed to go to the Polytechnic, by saying:

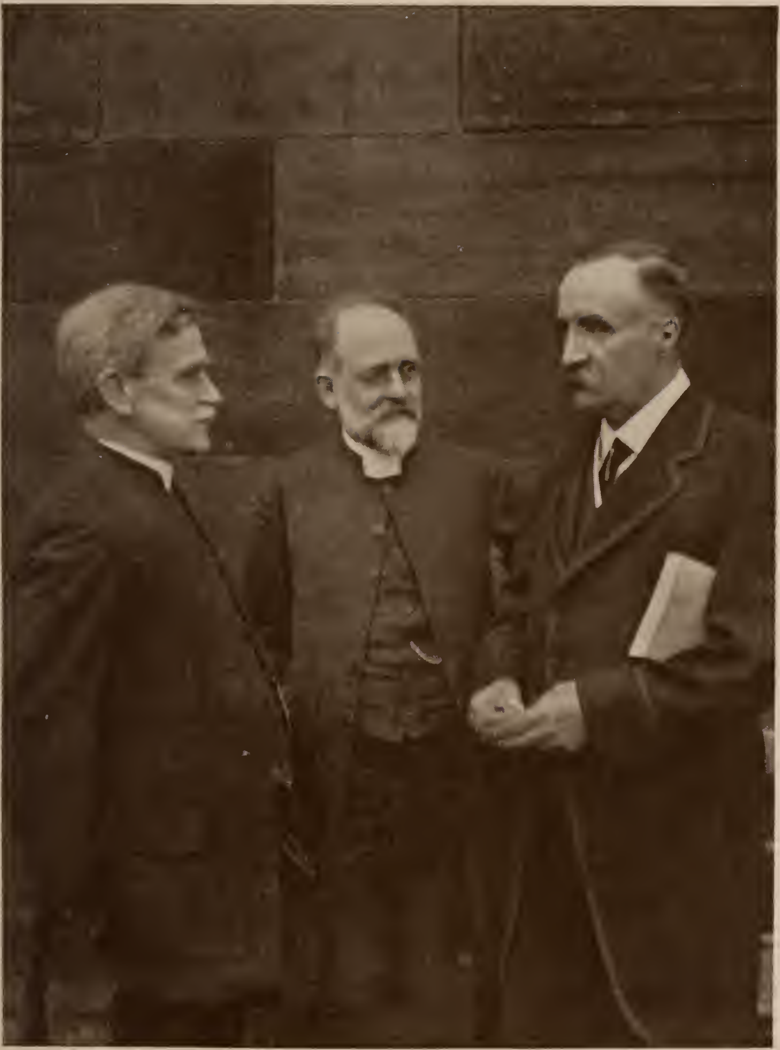
"I believe that Dr. Lunn will not falsely represent us. I have watched him closely, and I can only say that his influence in that mission is profoundly spiritual, and without a single dissentient among 1,200 members he has the hearts and the affections of the people. He has been instrumental in doing great spiritual work. Last Sunday night St. James's Hall was filled, and there were many cases of remarkable conversion. I am now speaking from the point of Dr. Lunn's exercising an influence over the young men of the Polytechnic. I say no word of the past. I deeply regret it, and no man feels it more than I do, but I am bound to do Dr. Lunn justice in regard to his private character and his spiritual influence. Of course Mr. Hughes is not mentioned, but it is the case of Mr. Hughes as well as Dr. Lunn, and I urge the acceptance of the recommendations of the committee because they will be acceptable to Mr. Hughes."

Other speakers followed on the same lines. Dr. H. J. Pope said that after hearing the remarks of Dr. Watkinson, who had spoken very strongly, he could not but feel that those remarks applied quite as much to Mr. Hughes as to Dr. Lunn. He admired Mr. Hughes, who had so chivalrously stood by his colleague.

Dr. Osborne attacked Hughes and myself in the strongest terms in a speech which Dr. Rigg afterwards characterised as one of his most memorable utterances, congratulating the younger members of the Conference on having had the opportunity of listening to it.

Dr. Rigg, in his reply, took the ground of expediency, and said that he did not feel called upon to say in regard to Dr. Lunn that he should be expelled. He had voted for his going to London, and would vote for that now, but the Conference would do as it pleased.

Dr. Watkinson's amendment, seconded by Dr. Dallinger, was defeated. The resolution was carried, and I remained a Wesleyan minister.



Rev. W. H. Findlay. Rev. G. Patterson. Sir Henry Lunn.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER

Twenty-five years after the publication of the articles which caused the Missionary controversy, I was elected for the first time Lay representative to Conference. On arriving at Oxford Place Chapel, Leeds, where the Conference was held, I accidentally met Professor Patterson and Mr. Findlay, and one of them happily thought of commemorating the restoration of our old friendship in this manner, with the aid of the Conference Photographer.

One small incident furnishes at once a good illustration of the temper of the moment and of Dr. Watkinson's ironical gifts. He was dining one evening during the controversy with a family who knew me slightly, and was denouncing the articles and their writer. "Come, Mr. Watkinson," said my informant, "give Dr. Lunn his due." "Nay, spare him that!" was the acid rejoinder. And I have been spared to shake hands with my critic.

I have thought it worth while to record so much of this discussion because in the year 1914, twenty-five years after the commencement of this controversy, the Conference did me the high honour of electing me for three years as one of its forty-eight representative laymen. This has justified the conviction which I cherished through all the bitterness of the struggle, that the men who were saying the harsh things which I have recorded, were saying them under a mistaken sense of duty, and because they did not understand the man with whom they had to deal. I never wavered in my belief that my opponents were good men, and that conviction enabled me to bear epithets and phrases which would otherwise have been intolerable.

Reviewing the controversy as a whole, I can honestly say that all the criticisms in the Conference, in the committee, and in the Methodist papers left my convictions unchanged. I have steadily believed from the day I wrote my articles to the present day that, in the main, my contentions were right.

Only two persons, whom I have already mentioned, criticised my action in a way of which I felt the force: the Rev. Wesley Brunyate, a large-hearted and broad-minded minister; and my friend, Mr. George Corderoy. Their position was that a man who was remaining in the home work at an income of about £400 a year, everything included, was not the man to lay down the policy of self-denial for other people. Mr. Corderoy said something to this effect: "You have no right to calculate on the self-denial of others.

It is all very well to say that a man ought to do this and that, but the man who says so ought to go and do it." I myself feel that only those who are apostles themselves will have the hearing their case may deserve if they preach to others the self-denial of apostles.

At the same time, I was right to express my honest convictions, and both Mr. Brunyate and Mr. Corderoy overlooked in their criticism the fact that the critic had risked his position in a ministry which he honoured and loved, his entire income, and the future of himself and his family, that he might express his convictions on a matter which he and his friend the Editor held to be of immense importance to the progress of Christianity in India. I am as strongly convinced to-day as I ever was that I was justified in contending that India will never be won for Christ until the Indian native ministry, to the extension and increased effectiveness of which our educational efforts should be addressed, is developed upon a much larger scale than at present; and that in view of the Eastern devotion to the ascetic ideal, extreme simplicity of life for European missionaries is one necessity of successful missionary enterprise in that great empire. I was invalided out of the missionary army, but this was my misfortune and not my fault, and I was not thereby precluded from repeating what I had written and said when still in the ranks.

Those who know the position occupied by my colleague may wonder why Hughes himself did not resign and take me with him. I well remember going to Epping Forest with him on one of the two days which Conference occupied with this prolonged discussion. He had made up his mind that the position might become intolerable, and the question then was what steps we should take. My own inclination would have led me to join the Church of England. He felt very strongly, as he said in that conversation, that the cause of Christian unity would be hindered by isolated stragglers going over to the Church of England. "If we are driven out," he said to me, "what we must do in the interests of

Christian unity will be to join one of the minor Methodist bodies, and endeavour to unite them into one body, as the first step towards ultimate and complete Methodist reunion."

He ever dreaded schism, and it would have been utterly abhorrent to him to do what it was feared he might do, i.e. follow the example of the three leaders of the great schism in Methodism in 1849, and create a new denomination. He was prepared, for the time being, to suffer much at the hands of his brethren, and to urge me to endure everything rather than take any step that would have a divisive influence upon the communion to which he was so deeply attached, and of which he was so faithful a servant.

Why I resigned two years later must be kept for the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX

THE AFTERMATH OF THE MISSIONARY CONTROVERSY—RESIGNATION FROM THE WESLEYAN MINISTRY

(1893)

The Decennial Conference of Indian Missionaries—The Resolution moved at the Wesleyan Missionary Committee—"Another Church in which to speak"—Interview with Dr. Rigg—Interview with Bishop Temple—Letter of Resignation—Invitation from Dean Farrar—Influence of Hughes—Bishop Vincent and the Methodist Episcopal Church—Acceptance at Rome into the Ministry of the M.E. Church—Letters from Bishop Temple, Canon Barnett and Bishop Moule—Hughes's Comments in the *Methodist Times*—Reasons for my Decision.

Individuals sometimes forgive, but bodies and societies never do.—CHESTERFIELD'S Letters to his Son.

"I pray God to spare my friends a similar clemency."—SIR THOMAS MORE on his sentence of decapitation.

THE Wesleyan Methodist Conference had failed to separate Hugh Price Hughes from his young colleague. Although we were working in different religious centres, our homes were only separated about 200 yards, and our lives were lived on terms of the closest intimacy. We shared each other's purposes and aspirations, and worked together in every possible way. But another question came above the horizon which led to a revival of the feeling that had manifested itself at the time of the controversy.

The Decennial Conference of Indian Missionaries met in December, 1892, for the consideration of all questions affecting missionary enterprise in India. A discussion was opened in the Conference on the question of the opium traffic in relation to public morals, the liquor traffic and public morality, and regulated vice and public morals.

At the closing session of the Conference the Rev. R. A. Hume, himself a member of the business committee, proposed a resolution expressing the horror which the Conference felt at regulated vice in every form, and the hope that the Imperial Government would insist upon obedience by British officials in India to its instructions based upon the resolution of Parliament of June 5th, 1888. This resolution was seconded and adopted, a very few voting against it.

The Rev. Dr. Miller, one of the most eminent Indian missionaries, strongly in sympathy with the Government, objected to the resolution and stated that the Government would see that they were divided upon the subject. He was seconded by Dr. Martyn Clark, who said that medical missionaries were divided upon the question.

Dr. Miller then moved a resolution that the motion against regulated vice should be withdrawn, and this motion was carried by 105 against 102.

Bishop Thorburn, the leader of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India, wrote immediately to the *Indian Witness,* an organ of that church in India, and said, "It was a source of deep regret to hundreds of the friends of the Decennial Conference that the final vote taken upon the resolution offered in support of the abolition of the C.D. Act and in condemnation of the policy of regulating vice was such as to put the Conference in a false position."

The first English editor to deal with this motion was Dr. Robertson Nicoll in the *British Weekly,* and he did not mince matters. "We have read," he said, "with dismay, a paragraph which states that when the Rev. R. A. Hume moved a resolution expressing abhorrence of regulated vice in every form, and calling for strict enforcement of the law, Principal Miller of Madras said that he objected to the resolution, and urged its withdrawal. Dr. Martyn Clark said the medical missionaries were divided, and in the end the resolution was withdrawn by 105 to 102! If this is true we venture to say that Dr. Miller has struck the deadliest blow which has fallen on the missionary enterprise in our time.

We have always maintained that missionaries must be fully trusted in the details of their work. But this is a moral question—one on which the Christian people of this country have unalterably made up their minds. They will not discuss it with Dr. Miller and his friends; they will simply conclude that those missionaries, living amid demoralisation, have themselves become demoralised. But we cling to the hope that the whole matter will be explained."

Hugh Price Hughes followed up the campaign in the *Methodist Times* in his vigorous fashion, and said, referring to the Conference:

"In the face of India and the world, that great gathering of missionaries refused to condemn a system which has already been abolished in this country, and which is maintained in India only because we have not yet fully succeeded in bringing home to the people of England that our disloyal and degraded officials in India are dodging, in the interest of masculine lust, the decision of the House of Commons."

The South Indian Conference and the Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met immediately afterwards, and took a line strongly condemnatory of the Decennial Conference.

In the *Review of the Churches* I appealed to those at home in the following terms: "We have only one comment to make on the following facts, and that is to expose the flimsy pretence that the Decennial Conference could not pass any resolution upon any subject upon which it was not unanimous. If the twelve disciples had acted on this principle immediately after the betrayal of our Lord they would have refused to condemn the action of Judas in accepting the thirty pieces of silver until he hanged himself, because it would not have been a unanimous resolution. If St. Paul, in carrying out his blessed work in breaking down the middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile, had acted on this principle, Peter's withdrawal from the Gentile converts at Antioch would have paralysed all their future endeavours.

If unanimity in any ecclesiastical assembly that the world has ever known had been necessary to enable the assembly to attack the forces of evil, no single advance that the Church of Christ has ever yet made would have been carried out. . . . There is only one course open to those who care for Foreign Missions, and who at the same time believe that the cause of Christ can never be furthered by a condonation of gigantic evils, whether they are associated with the rule of a Christian nation in a heathen land or not. The Churches at home must at once, and unmistakably, express their condemnation of these evils, and their determination not to send forth to the mission field, or to continue in that work, those who thus 'make compromise with sin.'"

In March I registered in the *Review of the Churches* a great advance on this question. A meeting was summoned at Exeter Hall for Tuesday, March 21st, by Hugh Price Hughes, Dr. Moulton, Archibald Brown, Dr. Robertson Nicoll, Dr. F. B. Meyer, Prebendary Webb-Peploe, and other leaders of opinion. Hughes said in the *Methodist Times:* "The solid unanimity of the meeting was as remarkable as its moral earnestness. It was a sort of Council of War of the Ironsides of the New Democracy, called to inaugurate a fresh campaign against the triple tyranny in India of opium, alcohol and libertinism."

In April further protests came from the mission field, including a strong missionary statement in the following terms: "In view of the false position in which Christian missionaries in India are placed before the whole world, by reason of the failure of the Decennial Missionary Conference of 1892-93 to recognise and condemn certain stupendous evils existing in this land, and to declare our true position regarding them, we, the Christian missionaries in India, whose signatures are hereto appended, unite in the following protest:

"First, we unhesitatingly declare our utter abhorrence of Regulated Vice in every form.

"Second, we are unalterably opposed to the participation by the Government in the demoralising traffic in opium and intoxicating liquors; and we record our conviction that these are sins against God and wrongs to humanity."

This was signed by missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, the Friends' Missionary Society, the Lutheran Mission, the London Mission, the Methodist Episcopal Mission, the American Presbyterian Mission, the Baptist Mission and others. The *British Weekly* continued to take the strongest line.

In these circumstances I wrote to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, asking to be allowed to appear before them to deal with the question. Hughes and I had been criticised previously for not appealing to the committee. The committee was held on Thursday, May 13th, and I proposed the following resolution:

"That this Committee, having had its attention called to the reports of the late Decennial Missionary Conference at Bombay, while disclaiming any sympathy with the terms in which in some quarters the action taken at the closing meeting of the Conference with reference to the subject of the State Regulation of Vice, the Government Opium Traffic, and the Liquor Traffic in India has been criticised, cannot but express its deep regret that, owing apparently to a mere technicality or point of order, so large a representative gathering of missionaries should have refused to pronounce an emphatic judgment on such momentous topics, closely affecting mission work, when once they were introduced; and especially that a strong condemnation of the first of these having been passed virtually by acclamation should have been withdrawn by a very small majority, feeling, as it does, that much injury may result, and that already no little painful concern among many of the warmest friends of missions has been called forth."

The officials replied by a resolution declining to take any action with reference to the Decennial Conference, and the Rev. C. H. Kelly, a former President of the Conference, said that he thought the time had come when "Mr. Hughes and

Dr. Lunn should find another platform from which to speak, and another church in which to speak."

Just at this time those who had resented my criticisms of the missionary organisation in India found an opportunity of attacking my position in the Wesleyan ministry.

Although I was still a Wesleyan minister I was receiving no payment of any kind from Methodism, and my income was derived partly from editorial and other similar work and partly from other sources which involved a business element. Methodism rightly lays down a rigid rule against any of its ministers being engaged in business, and on this ground my position was open to criticism. A minister named Joseph Olphert wrote a letter to Dr. Rigg stating that he should impeach my position on this ground, and I was notified by Dr. Rigg of this fact just at the time of the meeting of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee which I have described. I went to see Dr. Rigg, and pointed out the ambiguous position occupied by other ministers in relation to this matter. I said: "There is the case of one of our most eminent ministers, a very wealthy man, who tried to float a gold mine and got into the law courts. I do not want to raise this kind of question, or to throw mud at anyone and get bespattered myself, as I hope to remain a Christian minister. I shall therefore resign my position."

Dr. Rigg summed up, in the following letter to me, his own attitude at this interview:

"79, BRIXTON HILL, S.W.,
"*May* 10*th*, 1893.

"DEAR DR. LUNN,—I should thus represent the substance and exact meaning of what I said. I think that in our district Synod where you have personal friends, and where the facts as to your real and useful work at the Polytechnic are better known than elsewhere, there would be no disposition to make your continued connection with the W.M. Church impossible or needlessly difficult, but still I think the Synod would not be likely to consent to your being permanently engaged, as you are at present, in making arrangements as a matter of business for tours in different parts of the world. And again, I intimated in reply to some observations of your own on the subject, that I had no doubt you might confidently expect to find the way open for you to enter another church, and in that church to have a distinguished and honourable career. —Yours very truly,

"JAMES H. RIGG."

I left Dr. Rigg's house and walked across the road, and on the impulse of the moment telegraphed to the Bishop of London (Dr. Temple) for an interview. I had had no previous relations with him on this question. The Bishop kindly gave me an appointment the next day at the Athenæum Club, when I showed him my letter of resignation that I had drafted to send to Dr. Rigg.

In this letter I expressed my profound regret at having no option but to place my resignation in the hands of the President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. I went on to say that I had felt it my duty to express my convictions in strong terms with reference to the failure to condemn certain social evils on the part of the Missionary Conference held at Bombay the preceding January. I then quoted the remark from the Rev. C. H. Kelly that he thought "the time had come for Mr. Hughes and Dr. Lunn to find another platform from which to speak, and another church in which to speak." I then summarised the effect of the missionary controversy upon my position, and went on to say, "So strong are the ties that unite me to the Methodist Church, and so vivid is my realisation of the spiritual benefits which I have received through its channels, that I desired, in spite of the bitterness which exists against me, to remain in my present relation to Methodism, receiving no salary or emolument from my church, but serving that church to the best of my ability, as I have now done for three years."

I repeated the argument which I had used in conversation with Dr. Rigg with reference to the position of certain other ministers, and said: "It is clear that in the cases of those whom the Conference has specially liberated from all pastoral charge, the 'pursuit of private emolument' has proved incompatible with the regular ministerial duties of a pastorate.

"In contrast with this fact," I said, "I am surely entitled to point out that I am entrusted with a most important pastoral charge in assisting Mr. Quintin Hogg in the spiritual oversight of the ten thousand students and members of the Polytechnic institute, my duties including the privilege of preaching to a regular congregation of over one thousand young people every Sunday evening, and conducting large Bible classes during the week. But such a mode of defence is peculiarly distasteful to me."

I concluded the letter by saying: "It would ill become me, having devoted my energies to the creation of kindlier feeling between the severed sections of the Church of Christ, to pursue a course which would injure the Wesleyan Methodist Church and embitter relations."

Bishop Temple read my suggested letter of resignation through very carefully, and recommended one or two slight amendments which I embodied. He then said to me, in his characteristically abrupt but very kindly fashion: "Well, that is not all you want to see me about, I suppose?"

I said, "No, my Lord. I want to know whether, if I decide to take orders in the Church of England, you will ordain me."

The Bishop replied, "Certainly," and pulled out his pocket book. He said, "There are only two Sundays till Trinity Sunday, our next ordination, and therefore there is no time for the *Si quis,* which is read in church the three Sundays before ordination challenging anyone who has any objection to the ordination to state it. I am afraid your ordination will have to stand over until Advent."

My letter of resignation appeared in the *Times* and other papers the following Monday. The Rev. A. Boyd Carpenter at once expressed his willingness to give me a curacy at St. George's, Bloomsbury, and Bishop Perowne offered me immediate ordination as deacon, and priest's orders in three months, if I would take a curacy in his diocese of Worcester, going down one day a week for the three months.

I received the following letter from Archdeacon Farrar:

"*May* 13*th*.

"MY DEAR DR. LUNN,—I am grieved at anything that is a trial to you. Is it quite impossible for you to enter our ministry? If you would like to talk it over I shall be at home on Tuesday or Wednesday morning, or (better) between five and six.—Yours very sincerely,

"F. W. FARRAR."

I went to see Archdeacon Farrar, and had a long conversation with him, in which he offered me a nominal curacy at St. Margaret's, Westminster. He said, "I will give you what we call 'a title' or nominal curacy which is necessary for ordination, and £5 or some such nominal sum per annum which must be put into the title from the standpoint of Church law. You can preach for me occasionally at Westminster and go on with your editorship of the *Review of the Churches*, and the Grindelwald Conferences, etc."

Thinking the whole matter over, I wrote to the Bishop of London to say that I felt I must give further consideration to the matter, and he replied in the following terms:

"FULHAM PALACE, S.W.,
"*May* 15*th*, 1893.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I entirely concur in the expediency of your taking some time to deliberate with prayer on your next step.—Yours very truly,

"F. LONDIN."

On May 22nd, Archdeacon Farrar wrote again to me as follows:

"*May 22nd*, 1893.

My dear Dr. Lunn,—When the time comes there will, I think, be no difficulty at all. It will be easy to arrange details later on. I feel no doubt at all that your way will be made straight before you.—Yours very truly,

"F. W. Farrar."

The Rev. H. C. G. Moule, now Bishop of Durham, wrote in the following exceedingly kind terms:

"Ridley Hall, Cambridge,
"*May 26th*, 1893.

"Dear Dr. Lunn,—I cannot let your kind letter pass without at least this brief assurance of warmest sympathetic interest on reading what you are good enough to tell me. The thought of your joining our ministry is in itself an occasion for a sincere word of respectful welcome, should you see your way clear. Meanwhile I appreciate at a glance the difficulties which beset your personal action in this matter.

"As to the first difficulty, that relating to your efforts for reunion, I can offer no counsel. I have no right to do so and no sufficient knowledge, but I can pray for the Lord's light on your own judgment.

"As to the second, the other difficulty regarding the Wesleyan Church, perhaps I may venture to say that it will be something for the right side that another and a powerful voice in the Anglican ministry should be added to those which already assert the Church position of the Historic Denominations, refusing to regard church history as closed at any given point in the past.

"*Of course* this note is *not* for reply.—Believe me to remain, sincerely yours,

"H. C. G. Moule."

I have no copy of the letter that I wrote to the Bishop of London, but I find a summary of what I thought at the time in the *Review of the Churches* where I say: "I shall take the opportunity of a quiet time during the summer to consider carefully before taking any decided step," and add, "There are, however, two or three facts and two or three considerations which are manifest and will, no doubt, influence my ultimate decision. In the first place the ministry which I received from a higher source than the Wesleyan Conference is not affected by my resignation. In the second place my sphere of service to the Church of Christ at the Polytechnic is also unaffected, and there is nothing in Methodist polity to hinder my continuing to render such service as I am able in Methodist pulpits. The considerations which will weigh very heavily with me in my final decision are, in the first place, that I must take no step which will injure the movement which this *Review* was founded to represent; and secondly, that I can never take up a position which would necessarily involve any expression of doubt as to the validity of my own ministry in the past, or the present validity of the ministry of those excellent representatives of the Free Churches who have worked with me in this movement. I have ever held to the truth of the great patristic saying, *Ubi Christus, ibi Ecclesia,* and whether I find it possible to remain a member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church or am compelled to seek another spiritual home, I can never take up a position inconsistent with this great saying."

Meanwhile I purchased the books which would be the subjects of examination for ordination. Subject to my ultimate decision I provisionally accepted Archdeacon Farrar's kind invitation to take a curacy under him at Westminster, preach there occasionally, and continue my other work.

I then went to Switzerland. Hughes and I stayed under the same roof for a long period. It was one of his peculiarities when he did not wish anything to happen, to disregard its possibility until he was forced to realise it. Although I had told him that I thought of going into the Church of England he never took it seriously until one day a Sister of the West London Mission, who was staying in the same villa, said to him, "You know, Mr. Hughes, that Dr. Lunn is intending to be ordained as Archdeacon Farrar's curate, and is studying with that end."

I learned the next day that he had been awake almost the whole of the night praying earnestly in his own affectionate and passionate manner that I might be saved from making a mistake. We went out for a walk together and he said to me, as he said also to Mrs. Price Hughes about me: "I have no doubt that a great career is open to you, but I do beg of you not to sell the pass in this fashion by being re-ordained. Charles Berry and I and many others have joined in these Reunion Conferences which I consider most important. You have originated the Conferences, and if you go into the Church and are re-ordained, men with whose ecclesiastical position you have no sympathy will applaud your action loudly, and you will grieve all your friends." This was the summary of a long conversation which weighed heavily with me.

Just at that time Bishop Vincent, of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, came over to Lucerne to lecture on "Chautauqua," the great national summer school which he had founded in America. Hughes discussed my situation with the Bishop, and asked him whether it was not possible, in view of my anxiety to remain a minister, for me to be received into the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America with liberty to reside in England without any emolument. This transfer involved no question of re-ordination. Bishop Vincent said: "If Dr. Lunn will come with me to Rome, to our Italian Conference, I will arrange this," and ultimately I decided so to do.

From Rome I wrote to Bishop Temple, pointing out my difficulty in being re-ordained. The Bishop replied with the following magnanimous letter:

"FULHAM PALACE, S.W.,
"*Sept. 14th*, 1893.

"MY DEAR DR. LUNN,—I am obliged by your interesting letter. I think that with your views you have decided rightly.

If you had been ordained in the Church of England there might, and probably would have remained, 'a root of bitterness' in your mind that would have afterwards given you trouble of conscience. The change that you now propose to make is free from all such danger, and if by any possibility you should still fail to secure peace of mind, it will not be because you have doubts about the step you are now taking. It may be when you have tried the Episcopal system that you may have some doubts whether it was not always the best and always our Lord's intention. But you will not feel that you have given up old teaching without necessity, always a very painful thing to feel. And most likely you will find complete rest in the new position. Under any circumstances you may feel assured of the deep sympathy of religious men and especially of men like myself who hold conscience the most sacred of all gifts that the Creator has bestowed on human nature.—Yours faithfully,

"F. LONDIN."

I wrote also to Archdeacon Farrar, and I have unfortunately mislaid his reply, but it was to the effect that he thought it probable, in view of the conflicting attitude of different parties in the Church of England, that I had taken a course which would give me greater peace of mind.

Another letter that I received at this period from Canon Hay Aitken I have not retained, but I remember very vividly his kindness and his remark when he read my letter in the *Times*. "There is nothing now to prevent you from joining the Catholic Church." My reply to that letter expressed my views at the time. I said something to the following effect: "It is just because I feel that I am excluding myself from so large a part of the Catholic Church that I hesitate about taking orders in the Church of England. The Greek Church has declared itself the Catholic and Orthodox Church and has excommunicated Rome on the technical grounds of the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Second Person in the Trinity as inserted in the Creed in the Western Church.

As Dean Stanley puts it in his 'Eastern Church,' to that Church the Pope is the 'First Protestant.' The Pope in turn denies the validity of English orders, so that from the standpoint of the Greek and Roman the sacraments of the English Church are invalid, and the members of the Church are excommunicate.

"The English Church in turn is not in communion, as I am to-day, with the great Presbyterian Churches of Scotland and America, the Lutheran Churches of Scandinavia and Germany, the Reformed Churches of Switzerland and France, the great Methodist Churches of America which to-day—though bigness is not an argument on the question of truth—have a larger number of clergy and of communicants than the Church of England; and the Congregational Churches, Pædobaptist and Anabaptist, of England and America. All these churches will welcome me in their pulpits and to the celebration of their sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It is contrary to the genius of John Wesley to excommunicate anyone who desires to be saved from his sins by faith in a personal Saviour."

Canon Barnett, a large-souled Broad Churchman, then engaged in his great work at Toynbee Hall, wrote to me in the following terms:

"ST. JUDE'S VICARAGE,
"COMMERCIAL STREET,
"WHITECHAPEL, E.,
"*Sept.* 14*th*, 1893.

"DEAR LUNN,—Let me write at once to say how glad I am the burden is lifted from your mind. I have often thought of you and regretted the difficulty of a man to help his brother. The solution seems to me most satisfactory. As you know, I was not in favour of your taking English Church orders, and now you seem to have just the position for your powers and calling. The chance of getting something like Chautauqua in Switzerland is a good one, and I welcome any drawing near of America to England as if it were the prophecy of the century. May God bless you, giving you both peace and power.—Ever yours,

"S. A. Barnett."

Hughes, in the *Methodist Times* of September 14th, 1893, published the following editorial remarks:

"We have much pleasure in announcing that Dr. Lunn has been received by Bishop Vincent and the Italian Conference into the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church with a view to his immediate transfer to the Swiss Conference of that world-wide community. . . . We are delighted that Dr. Lunn has found a suitable and honourable place in the ministry of the great Episcopal branch of Wesleyan Methodism. We cannot but greatly regret that he is no longer a minister of the church of his birth and ardent choice, but he is now nearer to the parent church he loves than he would be in any other communion, and he is in full sympathy with the ecclesiastical system of the sister-church he has entered. Of course our doctrinal standards are identical, and Dr. Lunn, like many others on this side of the Atlantic, heartily approves of episcopacy in the moderate and scriptural form in which Wesley conferred it upon the Methodism of the New World. He has, therefore, entered that ministry without the least strain upon his conscience, but with the utmost sincerity and heartiness."

This peculiar relation to the Methodist Episcopal Church of America did not prove practicable. I still took an active part in the work of English Wesleyan Methodism, and had no means of keeping in personal touch with the ministry or the members of the American sister communion. I was meanwhile debarred from office as a layman in England, and had no right to attend any church meeting, either as a layman or as a minister. After three years I accordingly decided to become technically a layman once more, and with much reluctance resigned my ministry.

Some of my friends in the Free Churches will wonder how it was that I was so nearly accepting ordination in the Church of England. Perhaps they will wonder less as they read the earlier chapters, and see how my earliest days had been spent in an atmosphere in which there was no conscious antagonism to the Church of England. During my university life I had been treated in the kindest way by the Regius Professor of the Divinity School and President of the Theological Society, Dr. Salmon, in Trinity College, and by many other of the Irish clergy, including my father-in-law and my brother-in-law. In my work as editor of the *Review of the Churches* I had come into personal touch with several of the English Bishops and other dignitaries, and had found men like Bishop Boyd Carpenter, Bishop Perowne, and Canon Barnett as humble and unpretentious and just as brotherly as the Methodist students of Headingley College. There is nothing in the genius of Methodism necessarily involving antagonism to the Church of England. The true Methodist is not a dissenter, but at most a nonconforming member of the Church of England.

Holding the views on re-ordination, which I have expressed later, I was convinced that to pass directly from the ministry of Wesleyan Methodism to the Church of England would be regarded by extremists in the English Church as throwing doubt upon orders which had received signal marks of the Divine blessing, and were held by those then working with me in the sacred cause of Christian unity. At the same time I was passionately anxious to retain my position as a minister, and not to become engrossed, as I was fated to be, in a business career from which it was to prove too true "*sed revocare gradum, hic labor, hoc opus est.*"

At such a time it is difficult to act without incurring at some point or other the charge of inconsistency. The question then was hard to solve, though I could only follow what I believed to be the light. In that "to-morrow" on which we so often build our hopes, but which nevertheless fails to come, it seemed possible either that the bitterness of this "tragedy of errors" which had crippled my usefulness to Methodism might pass from the official mind, or that in some far-off days my ordination to the ranks of the Wesleyan ministry might not deter me from ordination elsewhere. To-day, as I look back, I feel that, whilst loyalty to my convictions compelled the action which I took, I was fully justified in giving the most careful consideration to the kind offers of my friends within the communion of the Church of England.

CHAPTER X

W. T. STEAD, QUINTIN HOGG AND THE POLYTECHNIC

(1890—1898)

Effects of the Missionary Controversy—Financial Problems—My New Relation to Methodism—Journalistic Colleague of W. T. Stead—Stead's Friendship with Queen Victoria—Stead and King Leopold—Stead's Method of Prayer—Stead and the Prince of Wales—Stead's Generosity—Stead, Hughes and the Parnell Crisis—Quintin Hogg and the Polytechnic—Quintin Hogg as Shoeblack—His Work amongst Young Men—Its World-wide Influence—The Theology of Quintin Hogg—Evangelical Calvinism.

Great hearts alone understand how much glory there is in being good.—MICHELET.

Servants of God! or sons,
Shall I not call you? because,
Not as servants, ye knew
Your Father's innermost mind;
His who unwillingly sees
One of His little ones lost.
—MATTHEW ARNOLD, "Rugby Chapel."

I MUST now return to the events which immediately followed my leaving the West London Mission in 1890. I found myself practically, though until three years later not actually, outside the work of the Methodist ministry. My friendship with Hughes, and my association, to a certain extent, as a voluntary helper in the work of the West London Mission, remained as a bond of sentiment between me and the communion for which I had hitherto lived and worked.

A violent controversy, such as that which was just closed, is accompanied by such a storm of emotion that it is difficult to analyse one's motives and actions. Supported by the sympathy of the St. James's Hall congregation of some two thousand four hundred people, it was easy for a young man with all the confidence and dogmatism of youth to be more fully assured of his own singleness of aim than was, possibly, justified. Many think themselves martyrs when they are actually enjoying the fight. The Mission workers, as was natural, unanimously supported Hughes and myself.

It is difficult for anyone outside of Methodism to understand how greatly the whole communion was agitated. A year or two after the fight I went to preach a special sermon in a little country village in Northamptonshire. The minister took me to see an old bedridden peasant woman. She said: "I read the *Methodist Times* every week during the controversy, and I always prayed God for Mr. Hughes and you."

During the days of the Conference, when one did not know what was happening in the debates, the evening papers would have on the posters "The Missionary Controversy," and we found recorded in the *Pall Mall Gazette* what so vitally concerned ourselves.

To us, at the time, the controversy seemed to be between the forces of reaction and progress; between an officialism that hampered efforts to get on to right lines, and the spirit of reform that wished to see results achieved where men had for generations, with so little effect, devoted so much labour.

It seemed then—strange as it may be thought by those outside of Methodism—that I had made material sacrifices in leaving the regular work of the Wesleyan Ministry. If my opponents thought in this fashion, I, with a wife and children to support, realised very vividly the difficulties of the situation. Of one thing I was absolutely sure—that I must remain in close touch with Hughes. His devotion, and my response in unwavering affection for him, made it unthinkable that I should remove far away from the Mission. I therefore decided to take a house in that neighbourhood, which meant, at a time when my only assured income was £250 from the Polytechnic, that I must do something to justify taking one of the large houses in Bloomsbury or

St. Pancras. I decided to receive a number of young men into my house as "pupils," to whom I might stand more or less *in loco parentis* and superintend their studies.

The resolution under which I had left the ordinary work of a Methodist minister was expressed in the "Minutes" of the Conference in the following terms:

"Dr. Lunn shall be permitted to labour for the following year in connection with another religious organisation, but shall be responsible for all matters concerning Methodist discipline to the Chairman of the Second London District."

In fact I had no relation to Methodism during that year beyond what was involved in attending the annual meeting of the Second London Synod, and my voluntary attendance at the annual Conference.

At the Conference which met twelve months after the controversy an interesting incident happened, which showed the desire of the officials to separate Hughes and myself, and the estimate that Hughes placed on the work that I was doing at the Polytechnic, so far as Methodism was concerned. A popular preacher named W. J. Dawson had just left Methodism to become minister of Highbury Quadrant Congregational Church. (Later he accepted a call from America.) He had been in charge of the Wesleyan Mission at Glasgow, and the question was who should succeed him there. During that Conference I was reporting for the Press, and one of the ex-Presidents leaned over the platform and said to me as I sat in the Press pew, "You are the man for this position."

I saw at once it meant severing me from all the journalistic work I was then doing and all my association with Hughes, and I said: "No, I do not want to go."

Nevertheless, he jumped up and said: "Mr. President, I move that Dr. Lunn be appointed to this church in Glasgow."

Hughes, with his wonderful readiness, was on his feet in a moment and said: "Mr. President, if the Archbishop of Canterbury were in this Conference, he would second that resolution." Then in his best debating form he set out the reasons why the Archbishop would take that action, and I was let alone.

When I saw the storm gathering, just before the Conference, I thought it wise to make such arrangements as should secure my wife and children against comparative poverty, even for a short time. I arranged to become the Free Church correspondent of the *Times,* Assistant-Editor of the *Methodist Times,* and the Methodist correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Christian World.* In this way, and with the assistance of a scheme that I am about to describe, I was able, that first year, to make an income about treble that which I had received in Methodism.

The scheme that suggested itself to me in this difficulty was to write a weekly syndicated letter with W. T. Stead. I wrote and asked him for an appointment. He replied in a characteristic letter: "Do not trouble about all these things. It is God's way of stirring us up when we need it. Never strike sail to a fear. Come and lunch with me at the Criterion."

I laid before Stead the following suggestion. I proposed to go round England and arrange with twenty provincial papers, and with one London paper, to take a signed weekly letter from us. Stead wrote such passages as he chose, and when he was busy I wrote the letter, which was called "The Church and the World."

I have never known a man whose friendships included representatives of more schools of thought than Stead's. Cardinal Manning, when he was nearly eighty years of age, used to climb up to Stead's office on the second floor of Mowbray House from time to time. He was much attached to Stead, and tried his best to secure him an interview with the Pope, but in this he was not successful.

At the opposite pole ecclesiastically was General Booth, for whom Stead wrote the book "Darkest England." They were on the most intimate terms. Intermediate between the two was Canon Liddon, who rarely missed a weekly walk with Stead. With his marvellous powers of assimilating something from everybody's creed he was the staunch friend of Mrs. Annie Besant, the Theosophist leader. Cecil Rhodes was a great believer in Stead, and made him his sole legatee and executor. When the Boer War broke out, though he deleted Stead's name as trustee, he left him in as executor. Special measures had to be taken with Stead's consent to remove his name from the trust. It was always Stead's hope that Rhodes would finance a great daily paper for him, but on this point they never came to an agreement.

Notwithstanding the public verdict on his attitude during the Boer War, he was an intense patriot and worshipped the British Empire with an idolatry that at times brought him into line with the Chauvinists. He would have rejoiced had he lived to see the entry of America into the war against Germany, for his dream was that the whole of the Anglo-Saxon race should be one all-powerful federation. It was his idea that in this federation England should remain a Kingdom and the United States a Republic.

It would hardly be right to describe him as the friend of Queen Victoria, but she was his friend. When he was sent to prison for his action in connection with the Maiden Tribute campaign the Queen only allowed one day to elapse after she discovered that he was an ordinary convict. The next day, by Royal Command, Stead was made a first-class misdemeanant. He succeeded in securing from the authorities the broad-arrow suit that he wore on that one day. Every year thereafter, in his broad-arrow clothes, he held a reception of his intimate friends in commemoration of that incident of his life, which, I think, gave him, on the whole, more satisfaction than any other. So strong was Queen Victoria's feeling of friendship for Stead, that when the Queen died King Edward ordered an invitation to be sent to him, as one of the four hundred persons privileged to be present in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, for the funeral.

It is interesting now to recall among his political activities his influence upon the Tsar of Russia with reference to the

Hague Conference. He told me that in his interview with the Tsar he was excited by his subject, and said to the Tsar at the end of the interview: "I think I have kept your Majesty long enough." The Tsar replied. "It is my custom, Mr. Stead, to terminate interviews," and smiled genially, and then went on.

Another monarch whom he interviewed with great effect was Leopold, King of the Belgians. "I wanted to see the King on the Congo question"—so he told me—"and I approached a Belgian whom I knew. He said: 'If you approach so-and-so, he knows so-and-so, and he has influence at the Court.' I said: 'I want this interview to be in the *Pall Mall Gazette* to-morrow,' and I then walked across to the nearest telegraph office and telegraphed to the King of the Belgians: 'I am coming over to see your Majesty on the Congo International question.'" Next day the interview appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

None who were at his memorial service will ever forget the remarkable gathering upon that occasion, which included men and women as diverse from one another as Lord Esher, representing the King, John Burns, Dr. Clifford, the Countess of Warwick, Lord Haldane, and Mr. Hawkesley, Solicitor to the Rhodesian Chartered Company. All sorts and conditions of men united to do honour to one who had been a brave apostle in so many good causes.

In the highest issues of life Stead had accepted to the full F. W. Robertson's contention that underlying every religious movement, however eccentric, there is some basis of truth that gives it power in the world. To him a strong and tolerant faith was supremely important. As he once said to me: "The people who say proudly: 'I am only intolerant of intolerant people,' are obviously intolerant of the overwhelming majority of mankind, because there are very few people who are really tolerant in the world."

In our letter we strove to record, week by week, what was being done by all good men for the progress of humanity. I joined him at an interesting moment. He was just starting the *Review of Reviews*, and prior to this he had been to Paris. He described to me a characteristic incident. He went into Notre Dame and knelt down and addressed the Almighty in these strange terms: "It seems to me that You are putting a great many eggs in one basket." He believed firmly at that moment that God was going to provide a millionaire who would start him with a daily paper and a weekly paper, as well as the monthly *Review of Reviews*. To the ordinary man this is somewhat shocking, but it was Stead's way of conversing with a Deity who, to him, was very real and very personal.

It was not exactly English. It reminds me of a well-known American magazine proprietor, of whom Robert Barr told me the following anecdote.

Mr. McClure, the proprietor in question, went into his office, and his clerk said to him: "We require five thousand dollars to meet a bill to-morrow, and we have nothing to meet it with."

"God will put all that right. Don't you trouble," said Mr. McClure; and then, as he told Robert Barr, he walked down Broadway and had a long conversation with God about it.

"I missed my train," he said, "and went back to my club, and there I met A. B., who had just come back from a lecturing tour.

"He said to me: 'Well, how is your magazine going?'

"'Excellently,' I said.

"'Do you want a little money in it?' he asked; 'because I could spare five thousand dollars just now.'

"'Certainly, I shall be glad to let you have stock for that,' I replied; and he gave me a cheque.

"The next day I went back to my office and said to my clerk: 'Didn't I tell you that God had this matter in hand?'"

This might have happened in exactly the same fashion to Stead.

I vividly remember a certain incident connected with his article entitled "H.R.H.," when the Prince of Wales had been violently attacked over the "Baccarat case." In response to the views of some of the Prince's friends, especially Lady Warwick, Stead wrote this *apologia*. He had sent proofs to Percy Bunting and Hughes, and they were greatly distressed. I went down to write the weekly letter and I told Stead what had happened. He waved the proofs of the article in my face and said: "When all my friends are against me I take it as a distinct signpost from Heaven that I have got to go that way."

He was generosity itself. It was characteristic of him that he allowed me, a young and unknown journalist, to share equally with him the proceeds of the weekly letter which we wrote. Yet another illustration of his generosity may be quoted. A lady, who afterwards became a well-known novelist, wrote to Mrs. Price Hughes asking if I would introduce her to Stead, which I arranged to do. I told him the story. I said: "Miss ——— has written one story for a Dundee paper. She now has an offer for another novel."

He came out and said to her: "What do you want?"

She said: "I want 30s. a week for a year as a typist instead of living at home."

He took me on one side and said: "Are you sure this is a genuine case?"

"Oh, yes," I replied; "I know her brother."

"You want," said he, "£1 10s. a week for a year, that is £80. I am not going to put a race-horse to plough. I will let you have the money, and you can pay me back when you make it."

The next novel she wrote was a great success and her future was assured.

He was always like this, always seeking for some distressed heroine whom he could rescue from difficulties, and for such he was prepared to risk everything he had.

I was with him and Hughes all through the Parnell struggle. During that critical week he wrote the whole of our weekly letter himself and strongly denounced the idea that Parnell should remain a political leader. Hughes

QUINTIN HOGG

W. T. STEAD

followed on the Sunday with an impassioned address at St. James's Hall. Stead went, and took with him Captain O'Shea. Hughes's readiness in reply to the various interruptions was such that Captain O'Shea turned to Stead and said: "Were those interruptions planned?" Of course they were not planned. On that Sunday night I went to Hughes's house and he wrote a letter to Mr. Gladstone, which I posted. He came up to London on Monday, as his biography records, and told Lord Morley that Parnell must go. This was one of the greatest victories that Hughes and Stead achieved, working together.

Our work as colleagues only lasted one year, although we remained friends until the *Titanic* disaster robbed the world of this brave spirit. I cannot better conclude this reference to my association with W. T. Stead than in words, slightly adapted, which he wrote of one of his friends, whose name appeared in King George's first list of "honours" a few months before Stead's death. I can confidently say of him:

"I shall fail signally in the duty which I owe to an old friend and to the world at large if I do not pay my tribute to services to humanity which would have given him a well-merited place in the roll of knighthood. He was one of those men for whom a knighthood would have been the most appropriate of all honours, for he was a knightly soul, constantly riding on some perilous quest, from which he emerged time after time, bruised and battered and wounded sore, but never daunted or disheartened."[1]

There were two distinct aspects in my work at the Polytechnic. The first concerned Quintin Hogg, the founder and president of the Institute, and the other aspect concerned the workers in the Institute. It has been my good fortune to work with men of striking character, who commanded the respect not only of their colleagues, but also of the great world outside their sphere of action.

Quintin Hogg was the son of the Chairman of the East India Company, who declined Lord Palmerston's offer of the Secretaryship of State for Foreign Affairs. When he left Eton almost any career was open to him. But at Eton he had been the friend of Lord Kinnaird and a number of men associated at school in a society for Bible study, who were destined afterwards to play a large part in the philanthropic work of the last half of the century. Quintin Hogg left Eton with a passion for the disinherited and outcast boys of London. As he himself told me, he dressed in an old suit of clothes, bought a shoeblack's outfit, and went out into the streets to learn the language and customs of the boys in the gutter that he might win them for Christ. From that day for their sake he was dead to the world to which by birth and education he belonged. This was illustrated very vividly in conversation one Sunday evening at dinner after a week in which the late Duke of Argyll, then Lord Lorne, had visited the Polytechnic for some ceremonial occasion. We were talking of presentation at Court, and he said, quite simply, "I have never been to Court. When Lorne was married he invited me as an old Eton friend to his wedding, and I went. Long afterwards I heard that the Princess Louise had said, 'Mr. Hogg came to our wedding, but we have never seen him since. I believe he never comes to Court.'" He had exchanged Society for fellowship with those who were farthest removed from the privileges that had surrounded his youth.

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[1] *Review of Reviews,* July, 1910.

A casual remark to me indicated what his life's work had cost him. He said, "I sometimes feel that it has been a little hard on my family that I should have given up my country house and my carriage to carry on this work. It has cost me over £250,000." He made this up in part to his family by a very heavy life insurance, but his own personal expenses were always very small.

His great work began under the railway arches, where he gathered his fellow shoeblacks and other urchins round him, and taking a candle and a bottle from one pocket and a New Testament from the other, he told them of their Elder Brother and his. Thus began a small Bible class which grew rapidly until it numbered a thousand members. Then he made overtures, as he told me, to the Young Men's Christian Association to allow his reclaimed street-Arabs to join that organisation. The committee of the Y.M.C.A. decided that their clerks, shop-assistants, and other members would not mix equally with the young fellows whom Mr. Quintin Hogg had gathered round him.

Just at that time the old Polytechnic came into the market. It had previously been a characteristically mid-Victorian compromise between a music-hall and a scientific institution, to which young Puritans might go with assumed safety when theatres and real music-halls were forbidden.

Quintin Hogg transformed the place into a technical school centring round a Bible class on Sundays and various meetings for religious work during the week. The membership grew rapidly, and I believe that to-day it is second only to the Zurich Gymnasium in the number of its students and its facilities for study.

On Sunday afternoons, when in London, Quintin Hogg gave excellent addresses to his "boys," as he always called them. On Sunday evenings I had a mixed congregation of 1,200. Every morning during the week "Q. H.," as he was affectionately called, conducted opening prayers in the large boys' school at 9.30 a.m. and then went to business in the City. In the evening he sat in his study at 5, Cavendish Square, which was connected by a passage with the Institute, and there he was consulted by any of the members who were in any religious or other difficulty. Every night of the year when in England he told me that he sent a birthday card to every old boy whose birthday was approaching, and wrote a personal letter to each one who was attaining his majority.

Little wonder that, whenever he went on his long travels, in almost every city of the world he was welcomed by men who had known him and been transformed by his genius.

Some illustrations I may give from my own experience of this fact. When I crossed to America in 1895 the assistant purser on the steamer was a Polytechnic boy. When I reached my hotel in New York a man called on me who had seen in a newspaper that I was associated with the Polytechnic. He was a successful estate agent, and he came to inquire affectionately for "Q. H." A few days later I lectured at Harvard University. A man came forward at the end of the lecture and said, "I am an old 'Poly' boy. How is 'Q. H.'?"

The same thing was always happening to Quintin Hogg himself wherever he went. All over the British Empire to-day thousands of men are scattered who owe their start in life—in many cases their rescue from being part of the "submerged tenth"—to the kindly words and the warm hand-grip of Quintin Hogg. One of these men, then in receipt of an income running into four figures, said to me as we walked down Shaftesbury Avenue one day, "I remember playing in the gutters of the streets of this district before this avenue was formed and before I had met 'Q. H.'"

Quintin Hogg was theologically a Broad Churchman, and his platform in his absence was open to all good men who had a message for the youth of London. Archbishop Benson, Archdeacon Farrar, Mark Guy Pearse, Percy Bunting, General Booth, all spoke from that platform during my time in the Institute. His view of the different denominations was expressed in a remark he made one evening at dinner: "I believe that all the sects have had their own message for the world, but when that message has been delivered and become the common possession of all the churches, the necessity for their separate existence ceases."

He once said to me when he was discussing his life at Eton: "It is very strange how the men who were in our Eton Bible class have become much more strict and narrowly evangelical in their views since they left Eton, whilst I have gone in the opposite direction." I remember one of these men criticising to me a sermon preached by Quintin Hogg on "The Word of God is not bound." "Q.H." horrified the Evangelical by finding in this text the same lesson that Lowell teaches in his "Bibliolaters," the great truth that the covers of a volume do not limit the revelation of God; that "God is not dumb that He should speak no more."

> "If thou hast wanderings in the wilderness
> And find'st not Sinai, 'tis thy soul is poor;
> There towers the mountain of the Voice no less,
> Which he who seeks shall find."

Quintin Hogg's colleague, who strongly criticised these views and held that the Word of God was "bound" by a theory of verbal inspiration, was a typical evangelical Churchman, nourished on the *Christian* newspaper. This episode taught me by practical experience how wide is the distance which separates the followers of John Wesley from the Calvinistic disciples of Whitefield who remained within the Church of England, and created the evangelical movement in that communion at the end of the eighteenth century and in the early part of the nineteenth.

In the work of the Polytechnic this Calvinistic note in the theology of the Christian workers greatly limited their effectiveness amongst their fellow students. It was a constant source of irritation to me in my work there.

When General Booth came and spoke to us on "Darkest England and the way out," the Polytechnic Parliament, which was an organisation of very good fellows, decided to do something to help General Booth. "The Christian workers" of the Institute said they could not work with men who had not been converted, and I had to talk to them for a solid hour and explain to them how opposed to the spirit of Christ such action was.

Apart from this element in the religious life of the place, the Polytechnic furnished an intensely interesting sphere of labour. As Speaker of their Parliament and as evening preacher on Sundays and in charge of different religious classes on the week-days, I spent eight happy years in the work of the Institution, and look back with profound thankfulness that in a time of difficulty the way should have been opened for me to undertake such congenial work.

CHAPTER XI

THE "REVIEW OF THE CHURCHES" (1891—1896)

First Suggestion of *Review*—Sir Percy Bunting—Archdeacon Farrar, his Position—Becomes Anglican Editor—Co-operation of Dr. Clifford and Leaders of Other Denominations—The First Number—Round Table Conferences—Letters from Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Manning—Hugh Price Hughes on Reunion Principles and Prospects—Press Comment—Dr. Robertson Nicoll's Opinion—Conference on Religious Teaching in Board Schools—The *Church Times* Then and Now—Progress of the Reunion Movement.

> One Flock, one Shepherd.—ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL.
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> In Whom each several building fitly framed together groweth into a holy temple in the Lord; in Whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit.—THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS, R.V.

THE *Review of the Churches* originated in a conversation which I had with Mr. (afterwards Sir Percy) Bunting, the editor of the *Contemporary Review.* One of us, I cannot remember which, suggested that there was room for a Review representing the life of the different branches of the Church of Christ, to be carried out on similar lines to Stead's *Review of Reviews.* Percy Bunting was a man of great enthusiasm, and before we separated that night we had decided upon our plan of action. Next day we went to see Archdeacon Farrar and asked him if he would become Anglican Editor and write monthly notes on the life of the English Church and a series of twelve articles on the Great Philanthropies. He was at that time the most popular preacher and writer in the Church of England, a former Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Fellow of the Royal Society, author of the best-known "Life of Christ," Chaplain to the King and to the Houses of Parliament, and Archdeacon and Canon of Westminster. He occupied a very important position, but was guilty of one great sin in the eyes of many literary critics—he had the gift of expressing his knowledge in such a way as to appeal to the multitude. With a marvellous memory and a wonderful range of literary knowledge, he could command a wealth of illustration and quotation which were almost dazzling in their effect. He could write effectively and with great rapidity. The result was that his books were read far and wide. Some years before he had written a book called "Eternal Hope," which no doubt kept him out of a bishopric.

He once repeated to me a remark of Westcott's about "Eternal Hope." "You know, Farrar, I have been saying what you have said for thirty years, and no one has taken any notice of it."

Farrar rather grimly said, "That was just the difficulty. I spoke so that men understood, and I suffered."

Notwithstanding, this work and other works had so arrested the attention of Christian men and women everywhere that his accession to the editorial junta was of the greatest importance. We immediately secured Dr. John Clifford, undoubtedly the leading Baptist of the generation, to represent that denomination. Dr. Donald Fraser, an eminent Presbyterian, recorded the life of the Presbyterian churches in England and Scotland. Dr. Alexander Mackennal, afterwards Chairman of the Congregational Union and President of the Free Church Council, became our Congregational Editor. Percy Bunting took the position of Methodist Editor, and I was appointed General Editor.

My journalistic training had been limited to the weekly letter written conjointly with Stead, the editing of a small monthly magazine in the West London Mission, my work on the *Methodist Times,* and my contributions to the *Times, Daily Chronicle, Christian World,* and other papers.

Our first number opened with a poem by a minister who had been President of the Horncastle Mutual Improvement Society. Some lines of it have always lived with me, and have strengthened and encouraged me in many a fight.

"Thou hast a brave calling, and therewith we charge thee,
Thy brow bear this frontlet, thy finger this seal,
This think thou and feel:
I am set for the life of the great Commonweal.
That which God hath begun
To fulfil in His Son,
His high purpose to gather together in one
All things both in earth and in heaven, be that,
Too, thy purpose; thereat
Work thou, too, with thy God in the light of the sun
Till thy work shall be done."

The *Review* contained, like its prototype, a series of "Articles of the Month" on the lines of the extracts given in the *Review of Reviews,* but dealing almost exclusively with religious and social questions. There were also a number of other features besides the section entitled "The Progress of the Churches," which was written monthly by the various editors. Special articles were also contributed from time to time by Roman Catholics, Unitarians, members of the Society of Friends, the Salvation Army, and others.

The most striking feature in the *Review* was our "Round Table Conference" for the month. The first of these was on the "Reunion of Christendom," to which Mr. Gladstone contributed the following letter:

"DEAR MR. BUNTING,—Though my hands are too full to allow of my considering your plan with a view to co-operation, I think that the prosecution of discussions and plans, for the union of Christian bodies now severed, is a matter to be regarded with much interest and desire until and unless it touches points where real beliefs or great institutions are to be compromised.

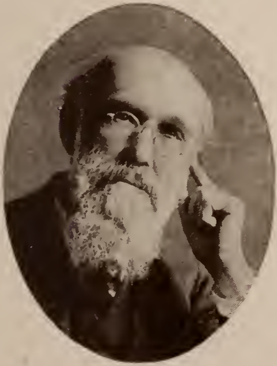
"In your actual plan, judging from what I hear, there

The Ven. ARCHDEACON FARRAR
Anglican Editor

PERCY BUNTING
Methodist Editor

Rev. Dr. MACKENNAL
Congregational Editor

Rev. Dr. LUNN
General Editor



Rev. Dr. CLIFFORD
Baptist Editor

Rev. Dr. DONALD FRASER
Presbyterian Editor

EDITORS OF "REVIEW OF THE CHURCHES," 1892

are two schemes of union which seem to be of great promise, that between the severed classes of Presbyterians and that between Congregationalists and Baptists. Methodism will be hard to bring in, but this discussion may do good in softening tempers, even when the subject may seem to be more speculative than practical.—Yours faithfully,

"W. E. Gladstone."

The discussion included articles by the Bishop of Ripon, Earl Nelson, Dr. Parker, Professor A. B. Bruce, and the Rev. James Martineau. Among the most interesting was the letter which Cardinal Manning wrote to me, in which he said:

"My dear Dr. Lunn,—It is difficult for me to do more than listen to the voices which are reviewing 'The Churches.' In May, 1848, I saw and spoke for the first time with Pius IX. He questioned me at length about the Christianity of England and about the multiplicity of good and charitable works done by Anglicans and Dissenters, ending with the Quakers and the great prison reformation of Mrs. Fry. He then leaned back in his chair and said, as if to himself, 'The English do a multitude of good works, and when men do good works God always pours out His grace. My poor prayers are offered day by day for England.' Since that time every year has multiplied all kinds of good works in England. There can be no doubt that an especial power of the Holy Ghost has breathed and is still breathing over our people. I gladly repeat the words of Pius IX., for I rejoice over the good works which cover the face of our country. My daily prayer is for England, and so far as it has been in my power I have shared your good works and united with your peaceful and beneficent aims. In the words which open your first number I heartily agree. You say, 'The tendency of religion in our day is towards union.' There has grown up in the last fifty years a vivid sense or instinct that division is evil and the source of evils. The desire and prayers for the Reunion of Christendom have created movements and organisations both in the Anglican and the Dissenting bodies, and your *Review of the Churches* is its latest and most resolute manifestation. . . . But I must not go on, for you are seeking union in agreements, and I have no will to strike a discordant note. You say truly, 'The controversies to which most of our churches owe their rise have lost much of their interest for us; some of them are hardly intelligible.' I have two great advantages. I can hope, and embrace you in the soul of the Church, and I can rejoice in all and gladly share in many of your good works.

"May the Holy Ghost renew His own unity in truth!

"Believe me,
"My dear Dr. Lunn,
"Yours very truly,
"HENRY E. (Card.) MANNING."

Hugh Price Hughes wrote at great length in this discussion. In his own vigorous and characteristic fashion he said: "When we remember how far disunion has been carried in the past the feature of our own day is very astonishing. I think all really Catholic Christians may congratulate themselves that the centrifugal forces have now spent their strength, and that the centripetal forces are becoming more and more powerful."

At the close of an article of some pages Hughes describes, rather on Gladstone's lines, the way in which he thinks reunion must come: "When all the Congregationalists are one, and all the Presbyterians are one, and all the Methodists are one, the problem will be very much modified. What shall we say of our Episcopalian fellow Christians? Personally I have no objection to an Episcopal system. On the contrary I believe that history has demonstrated that it is the best. I hold with Bishop Lightfoot that some form of episcopacy was probably established before the death of the Apostle John, and all through the ages the Episcopal system has proved its immense efficiency, especially for aggressive purposes. We are all realising that the capable man, rather than the disputatious committee, ought to be at the head of affairs. We believe with William Jay of Bath that 'if the Ark had been built by a committee it would not be finished yet!' By all means let us have Bishops of the right sort. Let us trust them. Let us give them a free hand and they may accomplish everywhere what the gifted Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church have achieved in the United States.

"There is one other practical observation which I should like to make. If reunion is ever to take place it must be brought about by the corporate decision of the great Christian communities acting as a whole. There are some exceedingly surprising persons who imagine that they can restore the unity of Christendom by stealing individual members of families from other Christian bodies and adding them to their own. Anyone who reflects can see that this process of gaining over supposed 'heretics' or 'schismatics' one by one is mathematically impossible. All the Christian communities, which are regarded by some as outside the Christian Church, are now numbered by millions, and no one in his sober senses can suppose that the process of stealing one here and there can ever result in bringing these millions over. Take, for example, my own communion. There are now 30,000,000 Methodists on this planet. We are far more numerous than the Anglican Church or any other church, except the Greek or Roman. Does anyone suppose that it would be possible to bring back these millions one by one, or family by family, to the church of which John Wesley was a minister? It is simply impossible. . . .

"When we are prepared to subordinate our own preferences and prejudices to facts—patent indisputable facts—and when we are sufficiently reverent to regard the unmistakable *imprimatur* of God as of greater importance than the *dicta* of men, we shall say *Ubi Christus ibi Ecclesia,* and when that is said the reunion of Christendom is already practically achieved."

The *Review* was a striking illustration of the Biblical warning, "Woe unto you when all men speak well of you." The *Times* and other papers gave kindly anticipatory notices, and when the magazine appeared there was a chorus of praise of our first number in words which found fullest expression in an article of a column and a quarter by Dr. Robertson Nicoll in the *British Weekly*. He said that he himself and his friends, having twice discussed the possibility of successfully floating such a *Review*, "came to the conclusion some time ago that a sixpenny clerical monthly review was impossible, save as an expensive act of philanthropy." The article goes on to say, "Naturally I did not take up Dr. Lunn's *Review* with great expectation, and my judgment must be prejudiced. But I gladly say that it has shaken me considerably in my opinion, and another number equally good will turn me completely round. The first number is a great success, admirable in every way and readable from first to last. It is a workmanlike magazine, and only those who know will appreciate the immense amount of care and thought and toil that have been given to its preparation. . . . There is no fear of the first number. Dr. Lunn has a capable team, and I do not believe he will crack the editorial whip too lightly."

Dr. Robertson Nicoll's first thoughts were best in this case. Even hostile papers like the *Church Times* testified to the value of the *Review*, but from the first number until the *Review* closed the circulation steadily declined. Two thousand pounds put in by friends was lost. I spent about as much of my own money in an attempt to save the property for the shareholders before abandoning it in despair.

It was rather interesting that a *Review* which had begun with an olive branch should only twice have increased its circulation, and on each occasion the rise in circulation followed a temporary eclipse of "olive branch" policy. The first occasion was in connection with our "Round Table Conference" on Religious Teaching in Board Schools, in which Mr. Hugh Price Hughes, Mr. Athelstan Riley, a

Jewish Rabbi, and Mr. Hirst Hollowell entered into the arena of a fierce theological and ecclesiastical controversy. The second occasion was when I published in the *Review* "The Inner History of the Missionary Controversy." The downward progress of the circulation was indicative of the unpopularity of peace in literature and journalism. The man who advocates war may achieve a circulation of a million. But although the *Review* perished it helped on the movement for Reunion that must ultimately triumph.

During the life of the *Review* the *Church Times* published many commendatory and many critical notices. The first objection taken by the *Church Times* and by the High Church party was to the title of the *Review*. It is an illustration of how far we have moved since those days that in the visit to the Methodist Conference of the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Chelmsford, described in a later chapter, these two prelates, with the full approval of their brother Bishops, definitely addressed the Conference as representing the Wesleyan Methodist "Church." It is still more interesting to find that in a recent number of the *Church Times*, which in this present distress is showing a most Christian spirit and a strong desire for unity, there is a leading article containing the following remarkable passage:

"We are unwilling to speak of 'the Methodist Church' or 'the Baptist Church' for two reasons; first, because it may seem to imply that a particular church can be properly organised without the apostolic ministry, and secondly, for the more important reason that such nomenclature suggests, and is often meant to suggest, that Christian churches are independent associations of believers and not merely administrative divisions of one Catholic Church. But to those who share our objections to these terms we propose two considerations. We ask them, first, to examine their own consciences and ascertain whether they do not themselves sometimes speak of 'the Church of England' or more probably 'the Anglican Church' in the same objectionable sense. We invite them, secondly, to remember that the word 'Church' has more than one or two significations. It does not stand only for the whole Catholic Church or for a regular administrative division of the whole. It is permissible to speak of an heretical church or a schismatic church. But further, the fundamental constitution of the Church, as the Body of Christ, is such that any of its members grouped together for religious purposes may rightly be called a Church. Indeed there is no other reason for calling by that name a building in which such a group meets for worship. Therefore, if any group of the baptised may be so called, the question of our using the term 'Methodist Church' or 'Baptist Church' is merely one of expediency touching no principles. That being so, courtesy at least will often demand its use. We shall not quarrel with the Bishops of Winchester and Oxford for speaking of 'Christian churches not accepting the Episcopal order.'"[1]

Such a statement as this in the powerful paper that represents the Oxford movement in the Church of England is a striking demonstration of the distance we have travelled since the *Review of the Churches* was founded, and since the discussions hereafter recorded took place. The war has done much to make Christians of all communions realise the importance of the cause for which the *Review* was established.

The *Review* was important in my life because it led straight on to the development of the Grindelwald Conferences on the Reunion of Christendom.

[1] *Church Times*, April 19th, 1918.

CHAPTER XII

THE GRINDELWALD REUNION CONFERENCES

Forces Tending towards Religious Unity—Social Reform—Cardinal Manning and General Booth—Letter from Dr. Martineau—Leading Members of the Conference—Bishop Perowne—Canon Hammond—Professor Stokes—Prebendary Greer—Athelstan Riley—Leading Presbyterians—Dr. Horton—"Berry of Wolverhampton"—Dr. Glover—C. F. Aked—Paul Sabatier—Père Hyacinthe—Theodore Mondod—Swiss Representative—Dr. Parker—Proposed Visit to Norway—Winter Gathering at Grindelwald—United Communion Service—Letter to the *Times*—Appeal for United Prayer by Earl Nelson and Others—Conference of June, 1892—The Grindelwald Fire—September Conference—The Lambeth Quadrilateral—Views of Bishop Perowne and Dr. Berry—The Case of Archbishop Spottiswoode—Hugh Price Hughes on Episcopacy—The *Times* Controversy on the Grindelwald Conference between the Rev. Hensley Henson and Bishop Perowne.

When I see kings lying side by side with those who deposed them, when I consider rival wits placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes, I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, or debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs, of some who died yesterday and some six hundred years ago, I consider that great day, when we shall all of us be contemporaries and make our appearance together.—JOSEPH ADDISON, "Essay on Westminster Abbey."

Dreamer of dreams! We take the taunt with gladness,
  Knowing that God beyond the years we see
Shall weave those dreams that count with some for madness
  Into the substance of the world to be.—F. W. MYERS.

LOWELL'S lines in "The Present Crisis," "How weak an arm may turn the iron helm of State," have often encouraged me to attempt to carry out certain programmes with a confidence which, to the onlooker, might reasonably appear presumptuous. The story that this chapter contains is recorded with a full sense of the apparent incongruity in the action of a young man, under thirty-three years of age, inviting the leaders of the churches to enter into conference on the gravest questions which concern ecclesiastical progress. None the less, this ambitious project, which might easily have fallen lamentably flat, was justified by its results. That my invitation met with such an extraordinary response was due to many causes.

The eminent men whom I invited to meet in the Alpine valley of Grindelwald at once agreed to gather together to consider how far the divisions of Christendom were thwarting the Divine purpose, and in what way and how far those divisions could be healed.

As will appear later, I was led, as the result of two shipwrecks, to change the place of meeting of our first Conference from Vossevangen in Norway to Grindelwald. In one of our discussions in 1894, Professor Lindsay of Glasgow startled our Conference by telling us of a similar gathering in the fifteenth century in the same valley. "These Grindelwald slopes," said Professor Lindsay, "covered with their chalets, remind me how old is the form of houses and the civilisation of these upland valleys, and I call to mind an earlier Reunion Conference at Grindelwald that, perhaps, we have all forgotten. In the early part of the fifteenth century Nicholas of Basle, the great 'friend of God,' from the Bernese Oberland, brought his followers, John Tauler, the great mystic, Rulman Merswin, banker in Strasburg, Henry Suso, and Christiana Ebner, prioress of the Convent at Ulm—for there were women there and they spoke—and they had letters read from many friends, among whom was the sainted Queen of Hungary, and these 'friends of God' met together in their second and last conference at Grindelwald wondering who could help them to reform a wicked world, and how God would lead them to their work. They met for the last time before the end at Engelberg, and then Nicholas disappeared—burned, we believe, at the stake at Vienna because he had controverted some ecclesiastical ordinance of the Church. They did not do much, these men and women, and history has almost forgotten them. But they did not altogether disappear. The ‘ friends of God ’ lingered in small praying communities, believing in the Holy Ghost, and in the power of prayer, and they retired just before the Reformation, and were succeeded by those who were called the old evangelicals, the men and women who prayed in the Reformation. They have no exact lineal descendants in these days, but some of them afterwards took certain views I do not agree with, and if there is any man in this audience who can trace lineal descent from these ‘ friends of God,’ who met in the old Grindelwald Conference, it is my friend Dr. Glover. They met, they were few, they were powerless, but they prayed for the Reformation, and what they themselves were unable to do, God did for them through their prayers before a hundred years were over. May they not be a promise to us, met together here, a larger company gathered from a wider area, with the same holy aspirations and hopes in all our hearts ? ”

The Conferences were the natural outcome of forces that had been at work throughout the century. Newman, Manning, Pusey, Keble, and their fellow Tractarians had effected almost as great a change in the religious life of England as the Great War is certain to cause in the life of the nations of Europe. These religious teachers brought home to men the truth that religious division is in itself an evil, and can only be justified as a passing expedient by overwhelming considerations. Men learned anew and with emphasis that there were certain truths which had been held, to use their phrase, *Semper et ubique et ab omnibus,* truths which were the supreme heritage of the church universal.

Matthew Arnold, thirty or forty years before our meetings, had used with effect Edmund Burke’s phrase, “the dissidence of dissent.” This phrase was justifiable after the great Presbyterian schism of 1845, and the Secession of the Methodist Reformers from Wesleyan Methodism in 1849. But in the later years of the century it had ceased to have any bearing upon the facts of the situation.

The great leaders of the Broad Church movement, Dean Stanley, Charles Kingsley, Frederic W. Maurice, and F. W. Robertson, had declared that the Church included every baptised Englishman. Robertson had affirmed that every religious movement had some underlying element of truth which gave it such power as it possessed.

During the 'eighties these centripetal influences had been strengthened by the new movement for Social Reform. Andrew Mearn's book, "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," had aroused social workers to the necessity of combined effort in dealing with the great problems of the day. The great dock strike of 1890 had brought together men of the most diverse schools. Cardinal Manning had taken a prominent part with the Bishop of London in the settlement of this great industrial dispute. On the Sunday of the dock strike, in the absence of Hugh Price Hughes, I spoke on the question at St. James's Hall, and in the following week I was asked by a special meeting of Nonconformists at the Memorial Hall to go and interview Mr. Norwood, the Managing Director of the Docks, as one of a deputation of four representatives of different churches—John MacNeil, who represented the Presbyterians; Dr. Hannay, the Congregationalists; Dr. Clifford, the Baptists; and myself, the Methodists. This was only one of many instances in which the churches were beginning to work together as they never had done before.

For several years before our Swiss Conferences, and for many years later, Dr. Fremantle, Canon of Canterbury, and afterwards Dean of Ripon, held a series of conferences on Christian Unity at Sion College. At one of these meetings it fell to my lot to open the proceedings with a paper on the place of creeds in the life of the Church. Dean Fremantle differed from us at Grindelwald in that he invited Unitarians to his gatherings. In the discussion that followed, Dr. James Martineau, the venerable and devout exponent of what I might almost call evangelical Unitarianism, made the startling statement that in the Athanasian controversy he would have been on the side of the Athanasians. This utterance seemed such a remarkable one from such an eminent writer on religion that I wrote a letter to him at the time asking if he would be kind enough to explain at greater length what he meant by that statement. The following is his reply:

"35, GORDON SQUARE, LONDON,
"*Dec.* 4*th*, 1894.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,—The short categorical answer, which alone I thought admissible at the end of our Christian Conference the other evening, was a summary of something like the following contents:

"In the controversy between the Athanasians and the Arians, both parties accepted Jesus Christ as the head of humanity redeemed and regenerate, perfectly realising the Divine idea in setting man over this world as His colony. Such as the Head was, such were the members to be, and such, therefore, *potentially,* they already were. He was the perfect representative of our nature in its Divine relation.

"The Arians, 'high' as well as 'low,' held the Christ to be one of the heavenly hierarchy. As such, He was a creature of God, more exalted, no doubt, than the tribes that variegate this world, but external to God, and fabricated by him, though it may be out of light and ethereal material instead of our earthly elements.

"To the Athanasians Christ was not the *creature,* but the *Son* of God, carrying, therefore, in himself, by inherent continuation, the Divine essence, not belonging, therefore, to any of the *genera* or *kinds* which make up the fullness of creation, but *above all kinds,* through direct kinship with God.

"Whoever says this of Christ the Head, says it of all the members; says it, that is, of man in his inner essence and real possibilities of his nature. Till he is awakened by the consciousness of this, and by its light reads the moral and spiritual intuitions and aspirations of his highest moments, he will never know the sanctity of his calling, or die to sense and self that he may live in the power of the spirit and its purer love.

"I am persuaded that in vindicating the sameness of Divine essence in the Son and in the Father, the Athanasians, it may be unconsciously, saved this higher and juster, and surely more encouraging, interpretation of the relation between the human spirit and the Divine. The Arian idea of an *imitation* of God on the part of a foreign kind of superior creature by intelligence, is something far less availing than the conscious self-identification with his call. This, at all events, is what I meant in my confession of sympathy with the Athanasian side of the controversy.

"Accept my grateful acknowledgment of your kind words, and believe me—Yours very sincerely,

"JAMES MARTINEAU."

"REV. DR. LUNN."

The temper of the theological world had changed greatly from the attitude adopted a quarter of a century earlier when a representative Unitarian could make such a contribution to a theological discussion in which nearly all the participants accepted the Nicene Creed.

Although this letter was written in the third year of the Grindelwald Conference, it is illustrative of the ecclesiastical tendencies and temper which existed at the beginning of the last decade of the century. I was encouraged by this state of affairs to initiate the gatherings which I am about to describe.

It may be well, before dealing with our first visit to Grindelwald and the events that followed, to mention some of those who took part in these discussions.

Dr. Perowne, Bishop of Worcester, was a worthy occupant of the see of Hugh Latimer. He was one of three learned and distinguished brothers, the others being the Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the Archdeacon of Norwich. He was known to all students as a great Hebraist by his work on the psalms. But the characteristic which marked him out in our discussions was a fearless courage combined with extreme gentleness and courtesy.

Dean Fremantle was the strongest Erastian that could have been found in England. Whilst Bishop Perowne and others represented the scholarly evangelicals who included Dr. Ryle, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; Dr. Moule, now Bishop of Durham; Dr. Chavasse, now Bishop of Liverpool, Dean Fremantle was the only eminent survivor of the school of which Dean Stanley, who died a few years earlier, had so long been the exponent. He held with Stanley that the safety of religion depended upon the Church being subordinated to the power of the State. In theology his breadth knew no limit. He once said to Hughes and myself in an Alpine walk: "I am a provisional Christian subject to a fuller revelation." Hughes was never provisional or hypothetical. "This one thing I know," seemed to be a text that he used for many sermons, and Fremantle's remark so startled him that, for the first and last time in my experience of him, he was rendered speechless.

Canon Hammond, Professor Stokes, Prebendary Greer, and Mr. Athelstan Riley represented four very different types of High Churchmen. Hammond was a controversialist and a casuist by nature. He would have made an excellent barrister, but his desire to score points was irritating in a Conference that was anxious to reach agreement.

G. T. Stokes, my old Professor of ecclesiastical history in Dublin University, was the author of two excellent books on "The Celtic Church" and "The Anglo-Norman Church" in Ireland, and had written a commentary on the Acts, which is the only commentary I ever encountered that the average educated man might be expected to read straight through because it interested him. Dr. Stokes was never dull, but was rather too eager for a Tipperary fight to be exactly the man to advance Reunion by discussion. After one of our debates, when he had greatly annoyed Hughes by his witty personalities, he came to me and said, with his Irish brogue and his jolly laugh: "Shure, ye know it wasn't my vulgarity Hughes objected to so much as my blasphemy in attacking him."

Prebendary Greer was a fine type of the cultured High Churchman who earnestly desires ecclesiastical peace, but who cannot see how to reconcile peace and continued schism.

Mr. Athelstan Riley was the representative of the fighting ecclesiastical layman. He had convulsed London with a fierce agitation concerning the teaching in Board Schools. He had a great passion for Reunion with the Eastern Church, but was not equally interested in his dissenting fellow-countrymen. They were not so picturesque, and he loved the picturesque.

This list is in danger of growing out of all proportion or I should like to say something of that dear fellow—"Esau's parson," as he called himself—Canon Henry J. Shuttleworth and many other delightful Churchmen who are no longer with us, Canon McCormick and Dean, afterwards Bishop, Chadwick.

The Presbyterians were ably represented by Professor Lindsay, of Glasgow, who was a great exponent of the facts of ecclesiastical history, and has left many scholarly works; Principal Story, of Glasgow University, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, physically and in manner overshadowing Lindsay, but intellectually dwarfed by him; Dr. Monro Gibson, who is still the most highly honoured of the ex-Moderators of the Presbyterian Church of England, and who was the first Presbyterian Chairman of the Free Church Congress; Dr. Oliver, Moderator of the United Presbyterian Church; and last but not least, Professor A. B. Bruce, of Edinburgh, who, with his friend, Marcus Dods, did so great a work in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in freeing Scotland from the narrower influences of Calvin's teaching, whilst at the same time emphasising the great positive truths.

English Nonconformists had many spokesmen; Hughes and Berry with Dr. Monro Gibson and Dr. Alexander Mackennal were the first four Presidents of the Free Church Council, and whilst my guests at Grindelwald matured their plans for the development of Free Church Federation.

Dr. Horton, who spoke on "Inspiration" at our first meeting, is happily still using his great powers in his vigorous church at Hampstead. No man can read his autobiography without realising his singleness of aim, and his devotion to Christ. He might, perhaps, have been a greater power if he had never gone to Oxford, or if he had chosen Balliol instead of New College. With his somewhat fastidious and sensitive nature the high degree of culture necessary to become a Fellow of his college removed him a little too far from the irritating Philistines who exist in all the Churches and sorely try a man of his temperament and training. At New College the motto is "Manners maketh ye man." At Balliol the rule is that "a man's a man for a' that." In its disregard for academic tradition Balliol is unique. No other great college would have had the courage to appoint as chaplain a cavalry officer without any university degree like my friend, Henry Gibbon. But the Fellows of Balliol recognised his great power with young men, his religious force, and his ability to put into a carefully prepared sermon of fifteen minutes more than most preachers put into half an hour. They not only made him their chaplain, and obtained for him from the University the honorary degree of M.A., but also elected him a Fellow of their college, an academic distinction second only to the coveted Fellowship of All Souls. It is the characteristics indicated by such unconventional action that has given Balliol such an illustrious succession of *alumni* from the days of Jowett's Mastership onwards.

Charles Berry, of Wolverhampton, described his own passion for Catholicity in the course of the discussions in 1893.

Like Hughes, he died in the very prime of life. The incident that gave him a world-wide fame was the invitation sent to him by the deacons of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, to succeed the greatest of American preachers—Henry Ward Beecher. A short time before his death, Beecher was speaking at Liverpool, and was followed by Berry. He was so much surprised by the ability of this young and comparatively unknown Congregational minister that he invited him to Brooklyn with the intention, which he carried out, of suggesting to his deacons that after his retirement or death, Berry should succeed him. It was a remarkable testimony to Beecher's greatness that the mere fact of this invitation and Berry's refusal, expressed by his quiet determination to remain at Wolverhampton, gave Berry the popularity, the burden of which induced *angina pectoris,* and robbed his church of his services at the zenith of his powers.

The absence of Dr. Clifford, my co-editor on the *Review of the Churches,* was a real loss, but Dr. Richard Glover, of Bristol, was so gentle and courteous that the Baptists could not have been better represented. He won the hearts of all Anglicans and Dissenters alike.

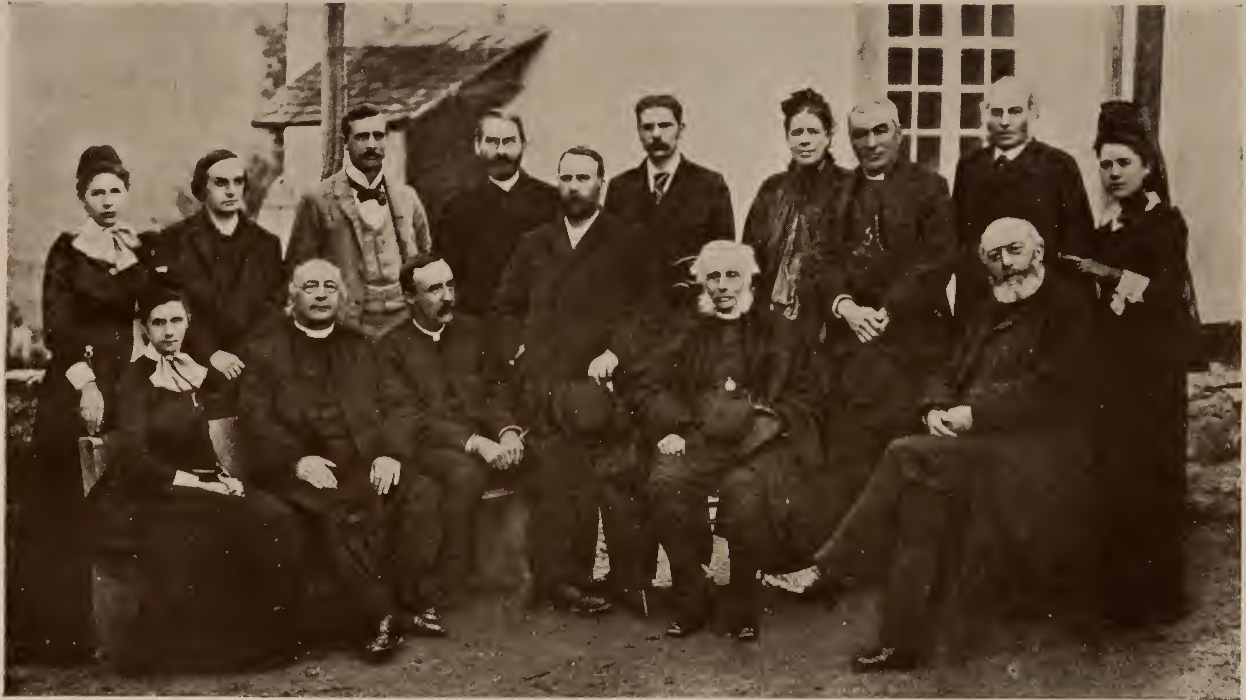
France was represented in our discussions by Monsieur Paul Sabatier, Pasteur Théodore Monod, and that great orator, Père Hyacinthe.

Sabatier's life of St. Francis of Assisi had filled us all with great expectations which were fully realised in the personal charm of the author.

Père Hyacinthe's eloquence in former days crowded Notre Dame. His orations were wonderful torrents of passion that left his audience breathless. But he was no ecclesiastical statesman. Stanley, Farrar, and other Broad Churchmen befriended him when he left the Church of Rome, but after his marriage to a rich American woman, and the refusal of the old Catholics of Holland to recognise his position in Paris, he became a splendid "voice and nothing more."

Théodore Monod, as the head of the Reformed Church of

Pastor Theodore Monod. Rev. Hugh Price Hughes. Mrs. Sheldon Amos. Percy Bunting.
Sister Lily. J. T. Woolrych Perowne (*Secretary*). Rev. C. Aked. Professor G. T. Stokes. Sister Dora.



Père Hyacinthe. Rev. Dr. Berry. Rev. Dr. Stephenson (*President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference*).
Mrs. Price Hughes. Rev. Dr. Lunn (*President*). Bishop of Worcester (Dr. Perowne).

SOME SPEAKERS AT THE REUNION CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER, 1892

Photographed outside the Parish Church of Grindelwald.

France, and a member of a very gifted family, was a real addition to our gathering.

Switzerland was well represented by Dr. Weibel, the well-known old Catholic; Pasteur Eugène Choisy, of Geneva University; Henri and Charles, the two sons of Dr. Merle d'Aubigné, the historian of the Reformation; Pasteur Frommel, of Geneva; and our poet-pastor, Herr Strasser, of Grindelwald.

In addition to Mr. Athelstan Riley, Sir Percy Bunting, Mr. Stead, and Chancellor P. V. Smith were amongst the laymen who took a prominent part in the discussions.

I had nearly omitted one notable figure in these Swiss summer gatherings, Dr. Joseph Parker, of the City Temple, whose telegraphic address was not undeservedly, "Preacher, London." He came rather as a lecturer than a debater.

As Parker has been frequently criticised for his income as a preacher, I should like to record an incident illustrating the large-heartedness with which he treated matters of finance. He was invited by a friend of mine, who told me the story, to preach at his church in Lancashire, and he was to be paid a hundred guineas for the day. Just before the afternoon service, Parker was opening his letters and threw one across the table to my friend and said, "What do you think of that?"

The letter was from a poor Congregational minister's widow who had been left in great distress after the death of her husband. My friend handed the letter back and said, "I do not know what to say."

"Well," Parker said, pulling his cheque-book out of his writing-case, "You are giving me a hundred guineas; I had better send it to her," and he wrote a cheque and put it in an envelope for the post.

At the end of the evening lecture one of the deacons stepped forward with an envelope containing the hundred guineas which was to be paid to the doctor and said, "Well, Dr. Parker, it is a large sum, but we know that you——"

Parker thundered immediately at the man in his deep bass voice, "If I choose to buy a keg of sugar with it, that's my business."

However, I must resist the temptation to anecdotage, and tell the story of the Conference.

In the autumn of the year in which the *Review of the Churches* was founded I ventured to suggest that a number of men of different theological and ecclesiastical views should journey together to Norway in winter, to a little village called Vossevangen, and there discuss our points of agreement and our differences. I described the Dublin Contemporary Club, and said that if Irishmen in that time of excitement could meet together, although they held most diverse views, and discuss what was for the good of their country, it ought to be possible for Christians of all denominations to follow that example.

We were going by a vessel named the *Fridtjof* and it was wrecked, then by the *Norge,* another vessel of the same line, which was wrecked a few days before the date of our sailing. Mr. Robert Mitchell, of the Polytechnic, rang me up on the telephone to tell me of the wreck of the *Norge*. Knowing that he sent some of the Polytechnic students to Switzerland on special cheap tickets, I asked him what the cost of these tickets would be, and whether he could supply them, which he did. We changed our plans at once to Grindelwald, and I announced in the papers the fact that the two vessels by which our reunion visitors were going to Vossevangen had been wrecked. The *Star* headed the paragraph, "Before Jonah got on board." I was able to make up a small party of twenty-six persons in all, and we left England on January 6th, 1892.

Our party included the Rev. A. R. Buckland, editor of the *Record,* and successor of the famous Dr. Momerie, of the Foundling Hospital; the Rev. W. H. Stone, a pronounced evangelical; Rev. W. S. Swithenbank, a typical High Church clergyman; three Wesleyan ministers, and representatives of other communions. We spent the days in healthful recreation, and in the evenings discussed various questions arising out of our points of agreement and difference.

The experience was so satisfactory that I wrote from Grindelwald to the Bishop of Ripon and Earl Nelson, asking them if they would support the suggestion of holding a large conference in the summer of 1892 to discuss such questions. Bishop Boyd Carpenter accepted the invitation, but was ultimately precluded by ill-health from coming. Earl Nelson, who was then himself editing *Church Bells,* and took an intense interest in everything that tended to reunion with other churches and better relation beween the Church of England and the Free Churches, replied, saying, "I am convinced that we should all be benefited by meeting together and discussing our various points of difference in a truly Christian spirit. I have also a great desire that we should form committees in various centres with a view to removing those social evils which are a disgrace to our common Christianity."

During our stay at Grindelwald the resident chaplain requested one of the clergymen in our party to assist him at Holy Communion, and nearly all the members of our miniature conference attended the communion service. This was reported in the *Record,* and immediately raised a storm in the *Church Times* and the *Times* itself.

It is necessary to describe this little tempest because it foreshadowed the events in September which followed the Bishop of Worcester's action on that occasion, and also the controversy which arose in consequence of the Bishop of Zanzibar's denunciation of the Bishop of Mombasa's action at the Kikuyu Conference. It is also a warning to all who are inclined to overlook the difficulties which confront those who attempt to deal with this question of reunion, thinking that they can easily be removed, and the barriers of centuries broken down in a day.

Canon Body, who had accepted an invitation to take part in the Conference, was influenced by the report which had appeared, and withdrew his name. He afterwards explained in a letter to the *Times* that when he realised what had happened he no longer felt that this incident would have precluded his attendance had not his other work prevented him from coming.

Just at this time Dr. Owen, then Dean of St. Asaph, now Bishop of St. David's, called upon me to ask if I would request the Bishop of London to preside over a Conference in England to take place between Churchmen and Nonconformists in Wales to consider whether it was not possible to carry on the Disestablishment controversy, which was then very keen, on more Christian lines. I went to Fulham to see the Bishop, Dr. Temple, and although he was unwilling to preside over this Conference he gave me permission to write the following letter on the question of the chaplain's action at Grindelwald to the *Times*:—

"To the Editor of the *Times*.

"Sir,—The Bishop of London, who has jurisdiction, as many of your readers will be aware, over certain continental chaplaincies—Grindelwald amongst the number—in a conversation which I have just had with his lordship, has given me his definite ruling upon a matter of great importance to Churchmen and Nonconformists in their mutual relations with each other. During the *Review of the Churches* winter gathering at Grindelwald several Nonconformist ministers were communicated by the chaplain at the ordinary Sunday morning communion. This incident evoked the censure of certain church papers, and a statement has been widely circulated that a 'common communion' would be held at our summer gathering, and that in consequence of this fact a leading Anglican clergyman had withdrawn from the Conference. This statement is erroneous in each particular. No 'common communion' will be held, and the clergyman referred to has not withdrawn.

"The Bishop of London informed me that I was quite correct in not regarding the communion celebrated at our winter gathering as a 'common communion,' and stated that he did not consider the chaplain had in any way violated church order in communicating the Nonconformist ministers who presented themselves in this manner. It was not the chaplain's business to enquire whether, according to the wording of the rubric, they had been 'confirmed' or were 'desirous of being confirmed.' His lordship corroborated my previous view that the term 'common communion' can only be applied to a celebration of Holy Communion in which the celebrants are ministers of different branches of the Christian church; and concurred with me in the opinion that any possible compromise was on the side of the Nonconformist ministers, myself included, who were prepared, for the sake of unity, to communicate on an occasion when the celebrants were priests of the Anglican church.

"It only remains for me to say that no effort will be wanting on my part to prevent any incident occurring which would compromise on the one hand High Churchmen like Lord Nelson and Canon Body, both of whom have heartily supported the proposal to hold such conferences, and old Catholics like Bishop Herzog, and Père Hyacinthe, or, on the other hand, Nonconformists like Mr. Guinness Rogers and Mr. Price Hughes.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"HENRY S. LUNN.

"*Review of the Churches* Office,
May 17th, 1892."

Immediately after this controversy Mr. Hay Aitken asked a number of representatives of different churches to unite to ask for the prayers of the churches on the gathering which was to be held. The following letter accordingly was issued :

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Times*.

"SIR,—Many of your readers are probably aware that an important series of meetings will be held this summer at Grindelwald with the object of promoting Christian Reunion.

These gatherings will be attended by prominent representatives of the Church of England, the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Baptists, and the Methodists, and it is fervently hoped that the discussions may not be merely theoretic, but may lead up to some definite practical issue. The promoters of the Conference feel that existing divisions are a source of danger to our common Christianity, and contribute grievously to the spread of unbelief. They, therefore, are most anxious that there should not only be much profitable intercourse between men of different schools of thought at the approaching Conferences and social gatherings, but that under the guidance of the wisdom which is from above, such practical suggestions may be presented as may definitely contribute to the healing of our divisions, and the removal of all unnecessary barriers that now lie in the way of godly union and concord. Feeling that this end can only be attained by the guidance and controlling influences of the Holy Spirit, we ask leave through you to invite, and indeed to implore, the earnest prayers of all Christian people on this behalf. That these may be offered unitedly, perseveringly, and as with heart and voice, we venture to suggest that this object should be specially interceded for at our public and private devotions on the first Sunday morning in June, July, August and September. Earnestly commending the suggestion to the consideration of all who have at heart the great objects for which our divine Master pleaded so fervently just before His Passion, We beg to subscribe ourselves,—Your obedient servants,

"*Church of England:* NELSON.
J. J. S. WORCESTER.
W. HAY M. H. AITKEN.
W. BARKER.
A. R. BUCKLAND.
F. W. FARRAR.
W. H. FREMANTLE.
H. ARMSTRONG HALL.
BASIL WILBERFORCE.

Church of Ireland: H. Kingsmill Moore.
G. T. Stokes.
Presbyterian: Marcus Dods.
J. M. Gibson.
Congregational: Alfred Cave.
R. F. Horton.
Alexander Mackennal.
J. G. Rogers.
Baptist: C. F. Aked.
J. Clifford.
Methodist: W. H. Dallinger.
W. J. Dawson.
H. Price Hughes.
T. Bowman Stephenson.”

When the Conference first met in July, 1892, at Grindelwald, the Rev. Prebendary Hay Aitken presided, in the absence through ill-health of the Bishop of Ripon. The Bishop wrote a letter to the Conference in which he expressed the hope that “Deeper sympathy and loftier elevation of aim may be given to those who yet agree to differ. It may be an open question indeed whether federation of variety is not more advantageous than pale, perhaps insincere, uniformity of thought.”

Prebendary Hay Aitken then opened the Conference with a speech dealing with the Lambeth Anglican Conference of Bishops on the question of reunion, and proceeded at once to the fourth point in the great “Lambeth Quadrilateral” which was laid down as the necessary foundation for any attempts at bringing together the sundered branches of the Church of Christ. It may be well at once to state what were the proposals put forward by the Church of England, following the lead of the Episcopal Church of America, at the Lambeth Conference.

These four proposals are constantly referred to, in discussions on Reunion, as “The Lambeth Quadrilateral.”

They consisted of the following:

(1) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments

as containing all things necessary to salvation, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

(2) The Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal Symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of Christian faith.

(3) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ—Baptism and the Supper of our Lord, administered with unfailing use of the words of institution and the elements ordained by Him; and

(4) The Historic Episcopate locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church.

The September Conference dealt with this question at much length, and a report of discussions will be found in Appendix B.

During the interval between the two Conferences the great fire of Grindelwald occurred. It was the month of August, and I had gone with Mr. and Mrs. Price Hughes, Miss Hughes, my friend's sister, and my wife to the Wagner Festival. Hughes and I were spending Friday, August 18th, at Nuremberg, where we went to see the house of the *Meistersænger,* and while we were walking through the old castle he picked up a German newspaper. Looking over his shoulder, I saw "Telegram from Grindelwald." I said, "What is that?" and he read out, "The village of Grindelwald has been burned to the ground."

I went to the nearest post-office and telegraphed, "The Conference at which the Bishop of Worcester and Dean Farrar were to preside, in consequence of the Grindelwald fire, will be held at Interlaken."

We then walked down to the hotel, and found a telegram from my wife: "Perowne telegraphs, 'Children safe, your châlet, Bear Hotel, Oberland, National, railway station, English church, and sixty châlets burned to the ground. What am I to do with the people?'"

I immediately saw from this that half the village was evidently still standing, as there was no mention of the Parish Church, and certain other hotels to the east of the ones named. I therefore telegraphed again to England stating that the Conference would proceed to Grindelwald, as the Parish Church, in which the Conference was to be held, had not been destroyed, and enough hotels remained. I left Nuremberg by the night train for Grindelwald, and when I got to Interlaken at five the next afternoon I found the Rev. Charles Berry and about one hundred and fifty members of the Conference just getting into the train to go up to Grindelwald. Berry, in his enthusiastic manner, said to me on Sunday, "You and Perowne are facing this matter very well, and I am going to say so this afternoon before my sermon. You had better take down what I shall say, and telegraph it to England to reassure them." This I accordingly did.

Notwithstanding this disaster, nearly five hundred people gathered together in Grindelwald, and the Conference opened on the date arranged—Tuesday, September 6th.

The Bishop of Worcester, the Rev. Dr. Stephenson, and Professor Stokes, of Dublin University, presided at the different discussions of this Conference, and speeches were given by the Rev. Charles Berry, the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes and others. These discussions were so important that I have thought it right to print them at some length together with the discussions of 1893, in appendices to this volume. To insert them at this point would interrupt the record of facts, but they are far too important a contribution to the attempt to achieve unity to be left out. These utterances of some of the greatest thinkers and leaders of English religious life in the last decade will be regarded by those who attach due importance to the ultimate unity of the Christian Churches as the most valuable chapters in this volume. The Conferences of 1894 and 1895 cannot, unfortunately, be included in this volume, but were reported at some length in the *Review of the Churches.*

It was interesting to note the effect upon some of the Church clergy when they listened to Hughes's speech in favour of Episcopacy. For a long time he had been to them a *bête noire,* and they were amazed that a man whom they had looked upon as the typical representative of the Nonconformist conscience could come so far to meet them. One of them said to me as he left the Conference, "I never could have believed that Hughes could have made such a speech."

Another said, "I would have travelled across Europe to have heard that speech."

At the end of that week I found myself in a difficulty. The English church had been destroyed in the fire. The chaplain then in charge had gone home, and the Society responsible for the chaplaincies had sent out no successor for September. I accordingly went to the Bishop of Worcester and asked whether he would celebrate Holy Communion, and whether I could invite the members of the Conference to be present. He consented and, assisted by Canon Robinson, of Dublin, Professor Stokes, of Dublin University, and the Rev. B. Lamb, of St. George's Vicarage, Leeds, administered the Holy Communion to large numbers of the members of the Conference, including Pastor Strasser of the Swiss Reformed Church, Charles Berry, Hugh Price Hughes, C. F. Aked and myself.

When this was reported in England a great storm burst of which we had a warning in connection with the incident that occurred in the winter, described already in this chapter. What happened should be borne in mind by all who are at the present time advocating the great and sacred cause of reunion.

The *Times,* in a long leading article, pointed out the difficulties of the situation. They said that the Evangelical or Low Church party might hold out a hand of welcome to Nonconformists and make things easy for their admittance, but High Churchmen would be less pliant, and would insist on conditions so strict as to be practically prohibitive. The writer referred to the Bishop's action in administering the Holy Communion to a mixed congregation of Churchmen and Nonconformists, and then proceeded to point out that the Bishop's suggestion of recognising the orders of Non-Episcopal ministers could not be carried out in practice whilst the Act of Uniformity was in force: "But the Grindelwald Conference none the less marks a step in the right direction. Such gatherings are useful, the Bishop thinks, as enabling persons to come to a better understanding about their differences, and to co-operate in such a way as to leave room for the cultivation of all the graces of the Spirit. There would thus be benefit from even so modest a form of *rapprochement* as this. It would help to put an end to what the Bishop terms the jealousies and rivalries and antagonisms of the present, although on other points it would leave things substantially what they are now. Differences might be better understood, but they would exist none the less."

Bishop Henson, who was then Vicar of Barking and a pronounced High Churchman, came forward to threaten with persecution those with whom he was afterwards to sympathise, and asserted in a letter to the *Times,* "If words mean anything, Episcopacy is declared to be necessary in the Prayer Book." He charged the Bishop with "airing a theory of courageous hypocrisy," and stated that all scholars would agree that the necessity of Episcopacy was firmly held by all Christians in the second century.

The Bishop was in Italy at the time, and wrote from Milan on September 14th, pointing out that the 36th article of "Ministering in the Congregation" was drawn up at a Conference between Anglican and Lutheran divines. He affirmed that the theory that Episcopacy is the only lawful form of Church government he believed to be an entirely novel doctrine in the Church of England dating from Oxford somewhere about the year 1840. He said, "But do I therefore make light of Episcopacy? Certainly not. I believe it to be the best form of Church government, though I cannot say that it is necessary to the very constitution of a Church.

I believe it to be the *bene esse* though not the *esse* of a Church." He went on to point out that the Lambeth Committee of 1888 recommended that existing ministers should be recognised, though this recommendation was not published at the time, but was afterwards made public by one of the American Bishops in an address to his Synod. Bishop Charles Wordsworth, the Bishop of St. Andrews, had urged strongly that the same concessions should be made to Presbyterian Churches in order that the way might thus be paved for the union of the Scottish Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches. He said that he himself had done no more than this.

Bishop Perowne concluded his letter by saying, "If nothing else has been gained by the Grindelwald Conference, this at least has been gained—that we have learned to understand one another better. If no step has been taken towards corporate reunion, a very large step has been taken in the direction of Christian charity. If we felt that there must be differences, we also felt that in obedience to our Lord there was a bond of union greater than our differences. I for one shall always rejoice that I was invited to take part in the Conference. Never shall I forget the solemn communion of last Sunday, when in the Zwinglian Church of Grindelwald, I, assisted by three clergymen of the English and Irish Churches, administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to a form prescribed in the Prayer Book, to leading ministers and other representatives of the Scottish Presbyterian and English Nonconformist Churches, all of them devoutly kneeling. None can have witnessed that scene unmoved. Such a reunion, I venture to say, stands alone in the history of Christendom, and deserves, not hostile criticism or contemptuous pity, but the hearty sympathy, the ungrudging recognition of all who, weary of strife about the externals of religion, desire the promotion of true 'godly union and concord.'"

The conflict of views reverberated in the columns of the *Times* and the Press generally, but no advantage can accrue from further placing on record the controversy of September, 1892. It has since been overshadowed by a kindred controversy on a somewhat different issue over the proceedings at Kikuyu. Those who had met at this Conference were not discouraged when they passed from the stage of good-humoured toleration to the next stage of violent opposition, which must inevitably be faced as a necessary stage before the final and inevitable victory.

It was felt by those present at the second Grindelwald Conference that so important a gathering should not be content with mere discussion, but should seek directly to influence the Churches at home and urge upon them the importance of combined efforts towards unity. So often it happens that both ecclesiastics and politicians are content with discussing their difficulties, and going into committee thereon, and passing most excellent resolutions, but do not proceed to action. There is an excellent proverb which Bishop Gore quoted in the Conference of 1918 between Churchmen and Methodists, at which I was present, which expresses the folly of such proceedings: "The foolish man roasteth not that which he hath taken in hunting." Whilst the Reunion Conferences helped greatly the movement towards Free Church Federation, they also urged the setting apart of one Sunday in the year for special prayer for unity, with sermons dealing with the evils of division.

I was returning from Rome in a very crowded train in April, 1894. At the last moment the stationmaster put on an extra carriage into which I entered with a friend of mine. When we arrived at Terontola, the junction for Perugia, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mrs. Benson and her Secretary, Miss Tate, joined us. I was reading at the moment the copy of the *Independent*, containing the series of articles which are referred to in the chapter of my American visit, giving the views of the American Bishops on the question of the interchange of pulpits. I found the Archbishop interested in these opinions of the American Bishops, and we had a discussion on what had happened recently at the Regent Street Polytechnic. I pointed out that in that institution he himself, Bishop Temple, Archdeacon Farrar, General Booth, Dr. Mackennal, Dr. Clifford, Mark Guy Pearse and I myself had occupied the platform on successive Sundays and had given sermons there in which there was no apparent theological divergence, no sense of disunion.

Archbishop Benson said, "But the hall at the Polytechnic is not registered as a place of worship." I replied, "I think it is licensed as a protection against brawling, but I am not sure on that point. I think there is a deeper reason, perhaps, that would appeal more particularly to you, and that is that we never have the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered." I thought of this reason on the spur of the moment, but I am still of opinion that the fact that these services were carried on, subject to the consent of the vicar of the parish being obtained, was a striking illustration of the absurdity of the present position. If Dr. Clifford could preach for Hugh Price Hughes, and Hugh Price Hughes for Dr. Parker, and Dr. Parker for Dr. Clifford, there is no sufficient reason for the pulpits of the Episcopal Church being closed to Christian ministers who held the great doctrines of the faith. Dr. Clifford would never have dreamed of using his position in a Methodist pulpit to attack infant baptism, and Dr. Parker in Dr. Clifford's pulpit would never have thought of attacking adult baptism.

After this discussion, the Archbishop asked about Grindelwald, and I told him exactly what had been Bishop Perowne's action in administering the communion to a number of Nonconformists presenting themselves on this occasion. "It seems to me," I remarked, "that the sacrifice was on the part of Hugh Price Hughes, Charles Berry, C. F. Aked, and myself, who were all ordained ministers, Methodist, Congregational and Baptist, and nevertheless received the communion according to the Anglican order at a service exclusively celebrated by priests of the English Church." The Archbishop agreed with this statement.

We then discussed the appeal to the Conference for a Reunion Sunday. The Archbishop said, "Will you write to me when you return to England, and lay this matter formally before me, and I will discuss it with the Bishops?"

After his return to England the Archbishop wrote to me in the following terms:

"LAMBETH PALACE, S.E.,
"*April 27th*, 1894.

"MY DEAR DR. LUNN,—I showed your letter, not to Convocation, which does not as a rule proceed in such matters, but to several Bishops. With us the ordering or recommending of devotions is diocesan. They were without exception pleased with the idea, and some of them will, I am sure, take it up in some form or other, and some at one time, and some at another.

"I mentioned to you some of the minor differences which attend our much-valued independence.

"It is only in certain questions that provincial action comes into use, but there was no lack of sensibility as to the action which Nonconformist bodies are taking any more than of confidence in the answer which will be given to the prayer of sincerity.—Yours sincerely,

"EDWARD CANTUAR."

The Archbishop then issued the following encyclical to his clergy:

"LAMBETH,
"*May 1st*, 1894.

"I wish to ask the clergy to use in church with the collects on Whitsunday the Prayer for Unity from the Accession Service. This is a time when the gift of the spirit of unity is sorely needed, and the great festival of the Holy Spirit, on which the 'Confusion' of Babel began to be done away, is a day most fitted for special united prayer for Unity among all Christian people. Many other religious persons and bodies will, I believe, use this one prayer on the same day. God, who hears prayers, will also answer them, we know, in His own best way.

"EDW. CANTUAR."

The appeal of the Conference, supported in this manner by the Archbishop, elicited a remarkable response, and special sermons were preached on Whitsunday, 1894, by the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishops of Truro, Wakefield, Worcester, Bangor, and Aberdeen, Archdeacon Farrar, Canon Basil Wilberforce, and a number of other eminent clergymen of the Church of England; Dr. Marshall Lang and Dr. Monro Gibson representing the Presbyterians; Dr. Clifford, Dr. Glover, Dr. Meyer, Mr. Cuff, and other eminent Baptists; Dr. Charles Berry, Dr. Newman Hall and Dr. F. R. Horton amongst the Congregationalists; the President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, and several ex-Presidents and Presidents of the minor Methodist bodies.

The Roman Catholic Church in England did not that year join with us, but in the year 1895 the Archbishop repeated his encyclical. Similar observations of Whitsunday took place, and on this occasion, in response to the command of the Pope of Rome, the English Roman Catholic Church offered up special prayers for unity.

CHAPTER XIII

A FREE CHURCH CONFESSION OF FAITH (1898)

Inception of the Free Church Council—Its Connection with Grindelwald—Position of Unitarians—The First Committee—The Free Church Catechism—Definition of the Catholic Church—Of the Sacraments—A Protestant Eirenikon—Disuse of Catechising in the Free Churches.

I cannot make two timepieces agree.—CHARLES V.

MISS DOROTHEA PRICE HUGHES, in her valuable record of her father's life, tells us of the beginning of the movement which resulted in the development of the Free Church Council. She says: "It was not till he met Dr. Berry in 1892 that he met one whom he at once recognised as the constructive genius of the movement, and who was able to regard it in quite the same full manner as he did. The form of the *rapprochement* was undoubtedly shaped on the Swiss mountains. Without Dr. Berry or my father, if it is possible to imagine the movement without them, a *rapprochement* of some kind would undoubtedly have taken place, so widespread was the feeling among ministers of all kinds; but it would have been on different lines. It would probably have resulted in a loose yearly gathering of some kind, the import of which would have come home but slowly, if at all, to the public mind and the Nonconformist people."[1]

In an article which Hughes himself contributed to the *Contemporary Review*, in March, 1897, he defined, as the objects of the movement, fraternal intercourse, the organisation of local councils, the encouragement of devotional fellowship, the advocacy of the New Testament doctrine of the Church, and the promotion of the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life.

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[1] "The Life of Hugh Price Hughes," p. 442.

As the Federation developed increasing influence, the Unitarians made overtures in 1893 to join it in social enterprise, and to be admitted within its pale. Against this Hughes contended with all the intensity and vigour which he could throw into any great issue. He had a profound admiration for many of the Unitarians, he numbered them amongst his personal friends; but as he declared to me again and again in our Saturday afternoon walks and conversations, nothing could move him from the position that whilst they might be a part of the Kingdom of Christ, they could not be said to belong to the Church of Christ. For him the Free Church Council was no mere fortuitous concourse of ecclesiastical atoms. It was a definite part of the Catholic Church, linked by the closest ties with the ages that had preceded it, receiving from those past ages a heritage of the faith once delivered to the saints. This heritage must be preserved.

These considerations led Hughes, in 1896, to urge upon the general committee of the National Council the preparation of a catechism which should express the Christian doctrines held in common by all the evangelical Free Churches. The first committee included the following leaders:

The Rev. Charles Berry and the Rev. A. Mackennal as Congregationalists, both ex-Chairmen of the Union; Hughes as a Methodist; the Rev. Dr. Clifford, the Rev. Dr. Tymms, and the Rev. G. P. Gould, leading Baptists; the Rev. H. B. Kendal and Professor Peake, Primitive Methodists; and Dr. Oswald Dykes and Dr. Monro Gibson, both ex-Moderators of the Presbyterian Church of England. These leaders of the Free Churches were summoned by Hughes to meet at 8, Taviton Street, to formulate in the shape of a catechism the creed of those who, like the Congregationalists and the Baptists, would at once have objected to anything that had been termed articles, or a definite creed.

I remember the almost boyish joy with which Hughes discussed this point with me directly he had arranged with Principal Oswald Dykes to compile the draft catechism. "I shall hope," he said, "to get these dear brethren to agree to a catechism in which we shall set out the articles of the faith as definitely as if they were set out in Thirty-nine Articles, or in the Nicene Creed."

Later there were added to the committee Dr. J. Guinness Rogers, Dr. Barrett, and Mr. Vernon Bartlett, leading Congregationalists; Dr. Banks, Dr. Davison, and Dr. Findlay, Professors of Wesleyan Methodist Theological Colleges; Dr. Townsend, ex-President of the New Connexion Conference; the Rev. F. W. Bourne, ex-President of the Bible Christian Conference; and the Rev. David Brook, ex-President of the United Methodist Free Church Conference.

The catechism was discussed for two years with the greatest care, and was finally published in December, 1898. The exultation of Hughes at such an achievement was justified if we accept his statement in the preface, in which he said: "The theologians who have prepared this catechism represent, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of not less, and probably many more, than sixty millions of avowed Christians in all parts of the world. Students of history will be aware that no such combined statement of inter-denominational belief has ever previously been attempted, much less achieved, since the lamentable day when Martin Luther contended with Huldreich Zwingli. In view of the distressing controversies of our forefathers it is profoundly significant and gladdening to be able to add that every question and every answer in this catechism has been fully adopted without a dissentient note. *Deo soli gloria!*"

Week by week, as the catechism was in process of creation, we used to discuss the progress made. To him every sentence in that catechism was of priceless value. It was a revelation to all concerned of their nearness to one another, and their essential unity.

Although no creed was definitely included in it as a creed, yet the answer to the question, "How did the Son of God save His people from their sins?" was an explicit statement in the words of the Nicene Creed: "For our Salvation He came down from Heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, and the third day He rose again according to the scriptures, and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father."

I remember when the great question of the statement of faith in the Trinity had been decided, with what satisfaction he recited to me the question and answer: "What is the mystery of the Blessed Trinity?"

"That the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, into whose name we are baptised, are one God."

The definition of the Holy Catholic Church ran thus: "It is that Holy Society of Believers in Christ Jesus which He founded, of which He is the only Head, and in which He dwells by His Spirit; so that, though made up of many communions, organised in various modes, and scattered throughout the world, it is yet One in Him."

It did not insist, as the article does, on the due administration of the sacraments, but this was brought in by the next question: "For what ends did our Lord found His Church?"

"He united His people into this visible brotherhood for the worship of God and the ministry of the Word and the Sacraments; for mutual edification, the administration of discipline, and the advancement of His Kingdom."

Throughout, the catechism, although drafted by Dr. Dykes, bears many indications that Hughes was stamping it with his own strongest convictions. The definition of the Catholic Church recalls Hughes's favourite quotation from Irenæus, "*Ubi Christus, ibi ecclesia.*"

"What is the essential mark of a true branch of the Catholic Church?"

"It is the presence of Christ through His indwelling Spirit, manifested in holy life and fellowship."

Nothing gave him so much satisfaction as his success in securing a unanimous statement with reference to the sacraments. Those who remember their church catechism will recognise the close resemblance between the definition of baptism in the catechism of the Church of England and that contained in the Free Church catechism.

"What is the visible sign in the Sacrament of Baptism?"

"Water; wherein the person is baptised in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."

"What inward benefits does this signify?"

"The washing away of sin and the new birth wrought by the Holy Spirit in all who repent and believe."

The last words definitely exclude the baptismal regeneration of infants, and so differ radically from the Church catechism.

"What are the outward signs in the Lord's Supper?"

"Bread and wine: which the Lord has commanded to be given and received for a perpetual memorial of His death."

"What is signified by the bread and wine?"

"By the bread is signified the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ in which He lived and died; by the wine is signified His Blood, shed once for all upon the Cross for the remission of sins."

"What do they receive who in penitence and faith partake of this sacrament?"

"They feed spiritually upon Christ as the nourishment of the soul, by which they are strengthened and refreshed for the duties and trials of life."

There is nothing in the statements concerning the Lord's Supper that contradicts anything in the Church catechism.

Throughout the whole of this catechism Hughes was endeavouring to bring home to evangelical Christians, who had been too much possessed by the idea of the invisibility of the Church, that this phrase was utterly misleading.

"England," he used to say, "swarms with ecclesiastical vagrants, who flatter themselves that because they believe in Christ, and are therefore, according to their own notions, members of the 'invisible Church,' they suffer no loss in holding entirely aloof from the organised fellowship of other Christian communions."

In his article on the catechism in the *Contemporary Review* he said, as he said to me in conversation repeatedly, that he could not imagine anything more entirely opposed to the original purpose of Christ, or to the best interests both of the individual and of human society, than isolated spiritual life. There was something very characteristic about the emphasis with which he used to say that "if we have nothing in existence except the so-called invisible Church, the powers of evil will not have much to fear."

Bishop Gore realised more vividly the value of these passages than some of Hughes's own brethren, and wrote: "The recent repudiation by the Editor, Mr. Hughes, of 'The Evangelical Free Church Catechism,' of the idea of the invisible Church, as being an invention of the sixteenth century, and the emphasis laid by both the Catechism and its editor on membership in the one visible Catholic Church . . . may well mark an epoch in English religion."[1]

Hughes declared with great emphasis that he was prepared to accept the Church organised by Christ and the Apostles as a visible, audible, and tangible society, but at the same time he insisted, as the Grindelwald Conference in their address to the Pope insisted, that the Unity of the Church found its highest expression and its headship neither in Pope nor Sovereign, but in Christ Jesus, its Divine Head and Lord.

When he succeeded in bringing the three eminent Baptists, who were working at 8, Taviton Street, with him on this great theological effort—Dr. Clifford, Dr. Tymms, and Dr. Gould—into line with himself, he did indeed regard himself as having surmounted a great difficulty, and this was justifiable since, for the first time, Pædo-Baptists and Ana-

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[1] "The Body of Christ," Gore, p. 320.

Baptists had endeavoured to find a formula which should express their common faith with respect to the sacraments.

Hughes said: "Remembering the terrible controversies in the past, my fears were not unnatural, but we found a formula of peace in the statement that the Sacrament of Baptism signifies 'the washing away of sin and the new birth wrought by the Holy Spirit in all who repent and believe.'"

It was very strange that the question which raised most difference between them was not the question of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, nor the Sacrament of Baptism, nor the doctrine of the church, nor the doctrine of the ministry, but the definition of the Resurrection of the Body. Here is the question and answer which ultimately secured unanimity:

"What hope have we in the prospect of death?"

"We are well assured that all who fall asleep in Christ are with Him in rest and peace; and that even as He rose from the dead so shall we also rise and be clothed with glorified bodies."

This remarkable gathering owed its significance to the fact that it was the first attempt made since the Savoy Conference by a representative body of different Protestant Communions in Great Britain to join in one expression of their common faith.

It has always seemed to me that the hopes which Hughes expressed in his exceedingly interesting article in the *Contemporary Review* at that period, as to the great effect of this catechism, ought to have been adequately fulfilled if the catechism had been more widely adopted. It practically remains an academic expression of faith, and although it was welcomed by men as widely separated as Bishop Gore and the leaders of Nonconformity, it has not taken that hold on the life of the Nonconformist Churches which it ought to have done.

The practice of catechising in the Free Churches has fallen too much into disuse. In Roman Catholic countries and in Anglican Churches at home, I have been present at the catechising when the foreign priest, or the rector or the vicar of the English parish, has walked up and down the church catechising the children on Sunday afternoon. Our Free Church Sunday-schools of the different communions have suffered enormously owing to the decrease in numbers since that catechism was written, and our membership returns indicate a decrease almost though not quite as serious. It is a great question in my mind whether more might not have been done to arrest this great decline in Sunday-schools and church members if this catechism had been more closely studied by Free Church ministers and adopted more widely and made the subject of more earnest study by our Sunday-school authorities.

CHAPTER XIV

REUNION CAMPAIGN IN AMERICA

Lady Henry Somerset and Miss Frances Willard—Quintin Hogg on America—Dr. Albert Shaw—I leave for America—Conversations with General Booth—" The General " and Mrs. Asquith—" In Darkest England "—Article by Dean Farrar in American *Review of Reviews*—Invitations to Lecture—I preach at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, and Lyman Beecher's Church, Boston—Lectures at Chicago on " Indian Religions and the Grindelwald Conference "—Dr. Barrows and the World's Parliament of Religions—Chicago—Washington—American Characteristics—The Protestant Episcopal Church—Old Divisions in New Settlements—New Canon Law respecting Exchange of Pulpits in America—Influence of American Bishops in Pan-Anglican Synods.

I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old.
—CANNING.

THE words used in regard to the realm of international politics by Canning apply still more forcibly to the ecclesiastical life of the Anglo-Saxon race. When the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, Boston, they did indeed call in the New World to redress the balance of the Old. Driven from Europe by those who held that the right of kings was divine and that the claims of the hierarchy were based on apostolic succession, they were to lay the foundation of the greatest of all modern states and to realise more nearly than any other nation in the world's history Mazzini's ideal of a Free Church in a Free State.

I have visited the States three times, and in this record shall follow a geographical rather than a chronological order. This is the more fitting because, unlike European nations, America is still on the threshold of its history, whilst its geographical boundaries are practically fixed.

Citizens of the older nations are sometimes unduly irritated by the American consciousness of the magnitude of their territory and its great potentialities. This attitude was illustrated in a story told to me by Mr. Henry Phipps, Mr. Andrew Carnegie's partner. He said that an American on one occasion rose to propose the customary toast which commences after-dinner oratory in the Republic, and said: "I wish to propose the toast of America, bounded on the north by Canada, on the south by Mexico, on the east by the Rising Sun, and on the west by the Setting Sun." A rather impatient auditor jumped up and said before the toast was drunk: "Mr. Chairman, I rise to support the toast of America, bounded on the north by the Aurora Borealis, in the south by the Precession of the Equinoxes, in the east by the dawn of primeval man, and in the west by the day of judgment."

However exaggerated this last statement may be, one realises in crossing the American Continent how vast is the territory of the United States. At a dinner of the Caledonian Society of St. Louis I pointed out that I had left New York one day to arrive in their State late the next day, and if I had travelled so far south from London I might have crossed the Belgian, German, Swiss and Italian frontiers, and should have found myself at Naples. The journey I had taken was only roughly one-third of the journey from New York to San Francisco.

In lecturing on the Fiscal Controversy to two literary clubs in New York, I pointed out the essential difference that exists between the fiscal conditions that are called for in an island which must necessarily be influenced by every change in the politics of the world, and depends for its supplies so largely on the products of other countries, as contrasted with the condition of things that prevails in the great country of America, which produces everything from an iceberg to a banana. If the whole of the rest of the world disappeared in some cosmic cataclysm and Great Britain alone survived the universal ruin, we should be starved in six weeks. If a similar catastrophe occurred leaving the United States untouched amidst the general crash, apart from the incidental ruin of a few financiers, the self-contained life of America might still go on.

I remember reading many years since an excellent article by Sir Walter Besant—I cannot remember the name of the publication—in which he contended that America was a mighty young giant just realising his powers, and that what the older nations complained of was the giant's awakening to real consciousness of his own strength and not the self-assertion of the *parvenu*.

On the 12th of January, 1895, I left England by the s.s. *New York* of the American Line for the city after which our steamer was named. Lady Henry Somerset and Miss Willard, the great American apostle of total abstinence, had requested me to aid them in organising the arrangements for American representatives to cross the Atlantic to the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union gathering in London in the summer of that year.

Lady Henry Somerset and her sister, the Duchess of Bedford, had always taken a great interest in all good causes. She and the Duchess were frequent visitors to the West London Mission, and had a great admiration for Hugh Price Hughes. It was in the Mission that I had made the acquaintance of Lady Henry Somerset and Miss Willard, and I was carried away with their enthusiasm and undertook the task which they suggested.

Mr. Quintin Hogg made a very true remark just before I left. "You are going," he said, "to have the most interesting experience of your life. You are about to visit the most remarkable country you have ever seen, possessing all the charm of a foreign country with this advantage to an English visitor, that his own language is spoken."

My wife and I crossed the Atlantic on the same steamer as General Booth.

I had met the General several times. At the request of Percy Bunting I wrote an article on the General's visit to Australia for the *Contemporary Review,* which the General signed. He had not the patience to write himself, so Bunting sent me to see him, and whilst he walked up and down the room like a caged lion I committed his roaring to paper, and he afterwards corrected my proofs of the article.

On another occasion I had a stormy interview with him. He had published a military manual for his officers. A copy came into my hands for review when I was assistant editor of the *Methodist Times.* I wrote a rather savage review and called it "The Law and the Gospel according to General Booth." I remember describing the volume as a compound of Jesuitism and Pharisaism.

On the day of publication I received a reply-paid telegram: "Did you write that article in to-day's *Methodist Times?*—BRAMWELL BOOTH." I said: "Yes." This brought the command: "Come and see the General at once." I obeyed. When I reached headquarters in Queen Victoria Street I found the old man in a Berserker passion. He walked backwards and forwards and hurled at me sentence after sentence like heavy shells from a fifteen-inch gun.

"If you ever get to heaven, Lunn, you'll find a General there."

"There is a General in everything that God does."

"If John Wesley had had more courage and faith he would have left his powers to one man and not to a committee of a hundred."

General Booth occupied a private suite on the great liner, with its own private sitting-room and bathroom, probably as a guest of the company. This seemed at first a little startling, but when one found him using the sitting-room with his two aides-de-camp alternately as an oratory, a council chamber, and an office, and working with demoniacal energy for the salvation of souls, criticism was silenced.

Beerbohm Tree had a company of actors on board, and the General rather annoyed them, not without reason. The General gave an address in the saloon one evening and spoke, first, on "Darkest England," and, secondly, on Beerbohm Tree and his company's need of salvation. They gave a concert a day or two later and invited the General, which invitation he declined.

The General was naïvely delighted with the reception which he had enjoyed in Canada. He described with almost childish glee his visit to the Viceregal Lodge, Rideau Hall, Ottawa, and said: "It was a great thing for my poor people who are always being jumped on, to see their General riding in the Viceregal carriage."

One habit the General had which was common with Methodists when I was a small boy. He lost no opportunity of kneeling in prayer with those whom he met in his travels. I was lying in bed in my cabin, rather out of sorts, and the General came round to see me and insisted that my wife, who was feeling the motion of the steamer, should kneel down whilst he prayed for us both.

There was a certain humour in this spiritual campaigning which saved it from being oppressive. Referring to a voyage with Rudyard Kipling on a P. and O. steamer from India, the General said: "I got him on his knees in his cabin. Rudyard was not very far from the Kingdom then."

On another occasion we were talking about Archbishop Benson, and the General said: "Has he not a son who has written a book? What is it about?"

The question rather startled me. One did not expect him to know the latest item of Society gossip. I answered: "You mean 'Dodo.'"

"What is 'Dodo'?" said the General.

"A caricature of Mrs. Asquith when a girl," I replied rather carelessly, as of someone whose orbit was entirely outside of ours. I did not dream in those days, which now seem to belong to another era, that the author of "Dodo" would ever be a member of one of the Boards of Directors of which I was chairman. Nor did I foresee that the subject of this novel would become one of my best and most loyal friends.

I saw Mrs. Asquith a great deal both in Switzerland and in London. She is a woman of deep feeling, a mother whose passionate devotion to her children is obvious, even to complete strangers. There are many ways of becoming famous, but perhaps one of the least desirable is to do what Mr. Benson did. Mrs. Asquith's friends disliked, and her enemies delighted in, "Dodo." She told me that the author went to see her in Grosvenor Square and began to apologise. She instantly stopped him, saying: "No one can think your heroine is meant for me! I am not beautiful, and I do not hunt in summer."

When I told the General that "Dodo" was meant to be Mrs. Asquith, he said: "Mrs. Asquith; oh! I know her very well."

"How do you know her?" I said.

"It was in this way," said the General. "I was going to the West of England, and had a reserved compartment. The railway companies are very good to me as I give them so much traffic. Just as the train was starting, in jumped Mrs. Asquith booted and spurred for the hunt. Before we got to Swindon we had a wonderful talk, and we knelt and prayed together.

"Mrs. Asquith invited me to lunch. I sat on her right and some noble lord on my right. I do not know who he was, but he tried to tease me. I looked over at Mr. Asquith, and I said to myself: 'You are the Home Secretary. I do not wish to annoy you at your own table. I must keep my temper for the sake of my poor people who may some day want your help.' At last I could stand it no longer, and I turned angrily on the gentleman and said: 'You cannot serve God and Mammon.' Mrs. Asquith took a cigarette from between her lips and said: 'I can.'"

Many years after I told Mrs. Asquith this story as the

General had told it to me, and she confirmed it and added: "Well, Sir Henry, I do try."

My association with General Booth would have been more interesting and intimate if Percy Bunting had carried earlier into effect an idea which he suggested to me one day during my collaboration with Stead in our weekly letter. Bunting said to me as I was going one day to Stead's office: "I have a suggestion to make for some work which I think you will like. General Booth is intending to publish a book on social development in the Salvation Army, and he wants someone to write it for him. I think you could do it. You had better go and see him about it."

I went to Mowbray House, and after we had finished our weekly letter Stead said to me: "Where are you going?"

"I replied: "To Queen Victoria Street to see General Booth about some book that Bunting thinks I might write concerning developments in the Salvation Army."

"You need not trouble about that," Stead replied. "Those proofs on the table are part of the book which I am writing."

Only Stead could have written "Darkest England and the Way Out," but it was of great interest to me to watch this book develop and hear from Stead the inner history of that eventful change in the record of this remarkable movement which turned a purely evangelistic order into a great organisation for attempting the solution of the many different problems which surround the uplifting of the "Submerged Tenth." The scheme of humanitarian reform which ultimately came into being was partly the product of the Booth genius, but was largely shaped and moulded by the equally remarkable gifts of my journalistic colleague and friend.

General Booth's interesting personality has tempted me into a rather long digression from the story of my experiences in America.

I was fortunate in having in New York a great friend and ally in Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the American *Review of*

Reviews. Dr. Albert Shaw's career provides yet another remarkable proof of W. T. Stead's uncanny insight into character. It was Stead who first predicted Mr. Balfour's coming greatness. Stead was one of the first to assert that great Imperial ideals lay underneath all Cecil Rhodes' commercial enterprises. I might give many other illustrations of his gift for seeing the latent capabilities of men with whom he came into touch. His choice of Dr. Albert Shaw was a case in point.

Dr. Shaw came over to England to study municipal questions about the year 1890 when Stead was starting the *Review of Reviews*. Percy Bunting was editing the *Contemporary Review*, and Dr. Shaw as a contributor was invited to No. 11, Endsleigh Gardens, Percy Bunting's house, and the centre of our little colony. Stead was passionately anxious for a union of the Anglo-Saxon people, and to further his propaganda he decided that there should be American and Australian editions of the *Review of Reviews*. Those who found institutions often discover that their own creations take different lines from that which they intended. Dr. Albert Shaw edited the *Review* with a striking originality, differing on many points of politics from his colleague across the Atlantic. The *Review* quickly obtained a position of influence in America, more like that of the *Times* in England, as far as a monthly and a daily can be compared, than that of any ordinary monthly magazine. This may seem a strange comparison, but in America each of the great cities has its own journals—New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, San Francisco, etc.—and there is no one supreme paper. It is possible, however, for a great national review in no small degree to represent the whole life of the Republic. In the case of the American *Review of Reviews* the review of monthly articles has become quite subsidiary, and month by month Dr. Albert Shaw deals with great clearness and power with the political situation, both domestic and international.

On hearing of my intended visit, Dr. Shaw asked

Archdeacon Farrar, then my co-editor, to write a sketch for the American *Review of Reviews* which would introduce me to the American people. "I gladly accede," wrote the Archdeacon, "to the request of the American *Review of Reviews* to say a few words with reference to Dr. Lunn's visit." He wrote in altogether too friendly terms of me, and concluded his article by referring to the welcome that he kindly anticipated for me in America by saying: "Dr. Lunn for his part will, I doubt not, carry back with him from America the same feeling of life-long gratitude for the spontaneity and warmth of American friendship and hospitality which is cherished as a life-long treasure by myself and so many Englishmen who have had the good fortune to visit the United States." This was amply fulfilled.

Invitations reached me from all quarters to speak and lecture on the Grindelwald Conference and its effect on English religious life. As I paid my own expenses and my wife's and accepted no fees for lecturing, I had the opportunity of choosing centres of the greatest influence. I lectured at Harvard University, Brown University, Andover Theological College, and other universities and colleges, and addressed large gatherings of the clergy of different communions in New York, Boston, Toronto, Chicago, Washington, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.

Immediately on my arrival in New York I was invited by the editor-in-chief of the *Outlook*, Dr. Lyman Abbott, of whose editorial staff President Roosevelt has been a member since his term as President, to meet a number of the editors of religious papers at a lunch. Dr. Lyman Abbott asked me on the following Sunday to occupy his pulpit in the historic Plymouth Church at Brooklyn where Henry Ward Beecher for so many years influenced the religious and political life of America. It was no small honour to be permitted to speak in such a church, introduced by one of the great religious leaders of the day, Dr. Lyman Abbott, himself a family connection of Henry Ward Beecher.

The following day I met two hundred ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which is so powerful an influence in the religious life of America. At this meeting, and at all the other meetings which I attended, the keenest interest was taken in the movement for Christian unity, represented by the Grindelwald Conference and the Free Church Congresses which were then beginning but had not yet crystallised into the National Free Church Council.

There is a very keen rivalry between the different cities of America which recalls the old rivalry between the cities of ancient Greece. Whilst New York is the commercial capital, Boston claims to be the intellectual capital of the United States. A story is told in this connection of a Bostonian. The conversation turned at a dinner party on the question of the bombardment of Boston from the sea, and he remarked: "Sir, you cannot bombard Boston. Boston is not a place. Boston is an attitude of the mind."

An interesting incident in my visit to Boston was a meeting of the Twentieth Century Club where I spoke on the Grindelwald Reunion Conference. The club contained a considerable number of Unitarians, and there was some anxiety on the part of my sponsors as to how they would regard a conference for Christian unity of which Unitarians were not members. Boston has always been a stronghold of Unitarianism. I have always found in this as in most other matters that the shortest way is the simplest, so when I was asked what was the relation of the Conference to Unitarians I answered frankly that the Conferences were for those who accepted the deity of our Lord. The Christian Church was built upon this truth as its foundation, and whilst we excluded from our gatherings none who really wished to come, Unitarians did not express any wish to join in the gatherings of which this was the avowed basis. None of the Unitarians present appeared to resent my reply.

A great blizzard raged during our short visit to Toronto, but after a journey delayed for nearly a day and a half by the storm we were welcomed at Chicago with great enthusiasm by Dr. Barrows, President of the World's Parliament of Religion. Instead of arriving there at midday on Saturday we arrived late on Sunday evening, just in time for me to go straight to Dr. Barrows' church, the leading Presbyterian church of Chicago, and give an address on "Indian Religions" in reply to Vivikenanda Swami, who had been lecturing on Hinduism all over America to large audiences.

On the following day I had a unique experience. The Americans are wonderful listeners, and a large company of some four hundred ministers of all communions gathered in the Methodist auditorium for my address on Grindelwald. After my address the Rev. R. A. White, as reported in the *Inter-Ocean* of the 12th January, rose and said: "I desire to ask Dr. Lunn whether this attempt at unity in the city of Chicago will embrace any wing of the Christian Church not called evangelicals, namely, Liberals, Unitarians, Universalists, and such other heretics of the city?" I replied that I myself had profound admiration for the religious genius and devotion of Dr. James Martineau and other representative Unitarians, but at the same time I did not see my way to any scheme of ecclesiastical unity for Christians which shall include those denominations that do not accept the deity of our Lord.

At each of these gatherings of ministers resolutions had been carried that the approaching Whitsunday should be observed as a day of special prayer for unity, and when this resolution had been carried with acclamation an incident occurred which I cannot imagine happening anywhere else but in America. An enthusiastic member of the gathering jumped up and said: "Mr. President, Dr. Lunn is leaving this afternoon for Washington. Some of us have read a short account of his address on Indian Religions last night. We shall never all meet again, and I move that Dr. Lunn be asked to give us that lecture now." This was carried, and I had to continue speaking to them another hour.

Dr. Barrows, who died some years since, was a typical American of great enthusiasm and organising power. At the time of the World's Congress in Chicago he gathered together the most extraordinary collection of men of all creeds, Christians, Roman Catholics, Greek Church, Protestant and other communions, Mohammedans, Buddhists, Brahmins and Parsees, and this great assembly all joined together at the opening of the Congress in reciting the Lord's Prayer—one of the most remarkable incidents in the history of the world's religious life.

The Americans have an admirable custom of allowing their ministers to take a long rest to give them opportunities for equipping themselves more thoroughly for their work.

Dr. Barrows was given a year's leave in order that he might go to Göttingen University and study German theology on the spot.

Chicago itself has been so often described by my friend W. T. Stead, amongst others, that I will not say anything except that it is a city with boundless possibilities. It is one of the greatest railway centres in the world, and its railways are supplemented by the mercantile navy of the Great Lakes, the largest fresh-water seas on the face of the planet. The Chicago people have their own intense local patriotism which will some day triumph over those municipal evils and the appalling condition of some of the city's working classes which Stead so graphically described.

The political capital of America—Washington—is a city of great beauty, a worthy capital of this great Republic.

It happened that Dr. Milburn, the blind chaplain of the Senate in Washington, had been a guest at my father's house in England when I was a boy, and he welcomed me with great cordiality and introduced me to President Cleveland, who was at that time at the White House. He then took me to the opening of a sitting of the Senate.

English and American customs differ in many respects. Although there is no established church the apparently impossible happens: religion is recognised daily by prayers at the opening of the Senate's proceedings, and a Methodist minister was then the appointed chaplain of the Upper

House. No set form of prayer is used, but every day the chaplain offers up an extempore prayer. When I was introduced to the Vice-President, who acted as President of the Senate, he asked me to take this opening prayer. Everything about this incident was characteristically American. He said: "Now, sir, when I strike the table with this ivory mallet you will pray one minute—no more."

In Washington, Philadelphia and Baltimore large meetings of ministers of all communions unanimously resolved to carry out the Grindelwald suggestion of special prayer for unity on Whitsunday, and welcomed with enthusiasm the movement for the Federation of the Churches inaugurated at Grindelwald.

It is much the fashion in England amongst all communions to discount the immense number of members connected with the churches in America and the strength of the great religious movements in that country. I think this is wrong. America is young and animated by amazing energy. The men who have gone over as emigrants from Europe have been largely those whose energies led them to emigrate. In some cases they have been the waifs and strays, the flotsam and jetsam of the older continent, but the men of the *Mayflower* were not the only heroes who were driven out of Europe to the new country. It would be too much to say that it is the land of the children of heroes, but it is not too much to say that a great deal of the best blood of both the Teutonic and Latin races has crossed the Atlantic.

If the problems of wealth, luxury and corruption in the national and state legislatures and the municipalities that confront the churches of America assume greater magnitude than in our own country, we have no such unblemished record that we can afford to throw stones. Political corruption in modern nations has never been worse than when Walpole declared that every man in a political group opposed to him had his price, or when Pitt purchased the Act of Union by methods that have brought down upon his conduct, great man as he was, the censure of impartial historians like Lecky and others.

To-day it is a commonplace in all political circles that men of wealth in Great Britain can buy—not, as men buy in America, a seat in the Senate for four years, but—a seat in the greatest legislative body in the world for themselves and their descendants. It would be easy to name men who have openly boasted of the sums they have paid within the last few years to party funds to attain such positions.

Therefore no good end would be served by my reciting certain incidents that happened as I travelled round America. Charles Dickens, in his description of the adventures of Mark Tapley and Martin Chuzzlewit, gave an account of one small side of American life which is no more representative of America than the incidents in a gold rush in Australia are of the real life of our colonies. W. T. Stead's description of Chicago was bitterly resented by the best Americans, not because it was untrue, but because it gave outsiders a wrong impression of the relation of such evils to American national life. It is so easy for people to talk about Chicago as being "Hell with the lid off," but there is a Chicago just as near heaven as the other side is near hell.

As one of the most thoughtful of Chicago ministers put it to me on my visit: "Mr. Stead succeeded in learning all about the dark side of Chicago life, and learned it with a considerable amount of accuracy, but at the same time he did not learn all he ought to have learned about the forces that are working for purity, justice and truth in our midst. I could in half an hour give you such a picture of the religious and philanthropic activities of Chicago as would enthuse you as thoroughly as Mr. Stead's account must have depressed you."

I found a strong consensus of opinion in favour of reunion between the different branches of the several great denominations. This was particularly strong in the case of Methodism, which is separated into two great churches, the North and the South. The separation occurred in consequence of the difference of opinion which existed at the time of the Civil War on the question of slavery. That question is now dead and buried, and all seemed agreed that it is deplorable to the last degree that in hundreds of cities, towns and villages Methodism should have two rival organisations separated from one another by no single living point of difference. The loss of power which ensues has not even that slight justification of the minute differences in ecclesiastical polity which separate the English Methodist churches. The example of the recently united Canadian Methodism is so near at hand and so striking that the strong feeling in favour of Methodist Reunion is less to be wondered at than the fact that this feeling has not yet triumphed over the divisions which resulted from the War of Secession.

There is, however, one advantage resulting from the present divisions in American Methodism. As one of the most thoughtful clergymen I met during this tour—an Episcopalian—remarked to me: "Methodism is so powerful in the States, so numerous, so wealthy, and exerts such a great political influence, that she is in danger of becoming self-centred and self-satisfied; so fully content with the splendid work she is doing as to be altogether indifferent to the value of closer relations with other denominations. Hence you will find more sympathy with the views expressed at Grindelwald amongst almost all the other denominations than amongst the Methodists." To a very great extent my limited experience goes to support this statement, and if Methodists were all united in one body the danger of being content with their own position would be increased.

On the other hand, the position of the Protestant Episcopal Church in relation to the other churches was of such a character as to afford much more hope for unity than in this country. This church is, in proportion to its numbers, very wealthy, and has a considerable prestige due to its relation with the powerful Anglican Church. At the same time, as its communicants are only about one-seventh as numerous as the Methodists and only about one-twenty-fifth of all the Protestants in the United States, it is impossible for its Bishops and clergy to adopt that *non possumus* attitude which Pope Leo and Cardinal Vaughan adopt towards the Anglicans, and which the Anglicans in this country in turn adopt towards other Protestant churches.

I was greatly interested by the astonishment expressed by two leading New York Episcopal clergymen when I told them—as illustrative of the territorial claims of the Anglican clergy—of the incident that happened when first the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and other dignitaries consented to come to the Polytechnic and address the Sunday afternoon Bible-class. They were promptly prohibited from so doing by the vicar of the parish, Mr. Hay Chapman, and it needed considerable Archiepiscopal and Episcopal pressure to induce this vicar to withdraw his veto and permit his ecclesiastical superiors to speak from our inter-denominational platform. These American clergymen both agreed that such an assertion of claim to territorial power was unthinkable in the United States. At the same time there was a very strong ecclesiastical spirit among the bench of Bishops which manifested itself in their unanimous declaration in 1894 in the columns of the *Independent* against any exchange of pulpits, and this ecclesiastical spirit speedily infects any new addition to the bench.

With surprising unanimity the Bishops—who had been appealed to by Dr. Lewis Carroll, editor of the *Independent,* to express their opinion on the repeal of the canon of Church Law, by which the clergy of the "Protestant Episcopal Church" in America were at that time prevented from occupying non-Episcopal pulpits and from admitting non-Episcopal clergymen into their own pulpits—had declared against repeal. As I shall point out immediately, since my visit the canon has been modified.

To give honour, however, to whom honour is due, it must not be forgotten that the American bench of Bishops first formulated at Chicago the famous basis of reunion, now known, with some modifications, as "The Lambeth

Quadrilateral." This fourfold basis—the Holy Scriptures, the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed, the two Sacraments, and the Historic Episcopate—locally adapted, represented a minimum of requirement which, it must be acknowledged, is considerably less than that which would have been demanded by the ordinary English layman or clergyman of that Church.

It would be difficult for me to over-estimate the sympathy with which the story of Grindelwald was received in America. The point in the development of the Free Church movement in England which appealed most to American audiences was, I was surprised to find, the endeavour made to prevent the evil of overlapping. In England we have generally been under the impression that these evils were due to old divisions which had left their legacy behind them. I found that the evils were just as great in new American towns. Far away in the West a new town springs up, with a population of a thousand, and one church would answer all the purposes of that population. But, unfortunately, amongst the thousand are to be found perhaps a pronounced Methodist, a pronounced Presbyterian, a pronounced Episcopalian, and a pronounced Baptist, each of these dear brethren insisting on working his own denominational church. The result is that rivalries spring up, the work of God is impeded, and there is a waste of effort which, in view of the great needs of the population, is deplorable to the last degree. Efforts were being made in some parts of the country, by means of the inter-denominational councils, to arrest these rivalries, and very great interest was manifested in English attempts to achieve the same end.

Looking back upon my American journey, I felt that the problems which confronted church life in this country in consequence of the divisions of Christendom, save and except in so far as those problems are influenced by the question of Church establishment, tend to reproduce themselves across the Atlantic. At the same time I returned greatly encouraged to believe that the movement in favour of closer unity amongst those who follow a common Master and own a common faith is one which is destined in the not far distant future to work marvellous changes in church organisation.

Since the foregoing pages were written a great movement had been initiated in America by the Protestant Episcopal Church. This movement is receiving the support of other communions in the United States on a large scale. The object of it is to prepare for a world conference on Faith and Order with the intention of promoting reunion. Further reference is made in the last chapter of this volume to what has already been accomplished as the result of these proposals.

Another striking fact, which only came to my knowledge in May, 1918, is that the Protestant Episcopal Church of America introduced into one of their canons about four years ago a clause permitting ministers of other churches to give addresses in their churches on special occasions, and this is now in active operation. A notable illustration of the working of this canon is the fact that two years ago the Rev. Dr. Jowett, now minister of the Westminster Congregational Chapel, conducted the Three Hours' Service on Good Friday in St. James's Episcopal Church, New York.

The decision of the Protestant Episcopal Church to modify this canon is one of those instances by which America, almost unconscious of her own power to affect history, makes important contributions to the solution of the problems of European civilisation. American Bishops live in an atmosphere which is inconceivable to an Englishman. Bishop Potter, of New York, once said to me, "When I am in England people call me 'My Lord,' but when I land on New York pier any casual acquaintance comes up and claps me on the back and says, 'Hello, Bish! How are you?'" There are no Nonconformists or Dissenters in America because there is no ecclesiastical norm to which they can conform, and no legal orthodoxy from which they can dissent, and, because there is no ancient establishment, those who are by nature ecclesiastical snobs have no false gods of this kind to worship.

The growing weight in the Anglican communion of the Pan-Anglican Synods gives increasing importance to these facts. The Bishops of a great country whose history has solved many of our insular problems are inevitably a strong force for reform in a gathering which a hundred years ago would have consisted mainly of spiritual Peers of Parliament. In almost all questions the American Bishops find their brethren from the British colonies in close sympathy with them. Whilst slow to take any action that affects England and is contrary to the opinion of the English Bishops, the American Bishops cannot avoid greatly influencing the opinion and action of the English Episcopate by such decisions as I have recorded.

These facts give a new meaning to the words of Canning quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

Since this chapter was written, through the courtesy of the Bishop of New York and other representative members of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America I am able to append the following definite statements with reference to the extent to which interchange of pulpits can now take place.

(1) *Letter from the Bishop of New York.*

"*June 6th,* 1918.

"DEAR SIR HENRY,—In reply to your letter of the 14th ult. making enquiry about an exchange of pulpits between clergymen of the Episcopal Church and Ministers of other denominations, I beg to say that such an exchange of pulpits is not the rule of the Episcopal Church in this country, with this possible exception, that the Bishop can give 'permission to Christian men who are not Ministers of this Church to make addresses in the Church on special occasions.' That, however, is not an opening of the door; it is simply a little crack, and I hope that the crack may widen out so that before a great while the door may be opened wide. This, I believe, will come and is bound to come, as the result of the tragic experiences through which both the Church and the world are passing at the present time.—Believe me, Very sincerely yours,

"(Signed) DAVID H. GREER,
"Bishop of New York."

(2) *Letter from the Bishop of Washington, D.C.,*

"*June 14th,* 1918.

"MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—Your esteemed favour of May 14th duly received, and I have read with great interest what you tell me of the formation of a Joint Committee for the promotion of closer relations between the Church of England and the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

"Before proceeding to answer your question, may I be permitted to express the earnest hope that this Committee may be so blessed and guided by the Holy Spirit as to be able to set forward the great object for which it has been formed.

"The views of Bishop Doane published some years ago, to which you refer, stated the situation correctly at that time. However, at the General Convention held in 1907, the following addition was made to a Canon entitled 'Of Persons not Ministers in this Church officiating in any Congregation thereof':

> "'Provided that nothing herein shall be construed as to forbid communicants of the Church to act as Lay Readers; or to prevent the Bishop of any Diocese or Missionary District from giving permission to Christian men who are not Ministers of this Church, to make addresses in the Church, on special occasions.'

"This is not, you will see, quite what is understood by the phrase 'Exchange of pulpits.' It has resulted, however, in many invitations being extended to Ministers of other religious bodies, with the approval of the Bishop of the diocese, to speak in the pulpits of the Episcopal Church.

"At the National Cathedral now being built in Washington, we have made some such invitations for preaching at our Open Air service held every Sunday afternoon on the Cathedral Close. At present we have only a Chapel of the Cathedral built, but when we get an Auditorium it will be our hope to have prominent Ministers of Evangelical Churches speak in the Cathedral pulpit from time to time on special occasions. In other words, we are hoping that the Cathedral may thus fulfil one of the great purposes of its creation, the promotion of Christian Unity. In the meantime, there is a fine spirit of co-operation between the various religious bodies in our country in promoting objects of common interest—a spirit enlarged and accentuated by the conditions of this war-time.

"My personal relations with the honoured resident Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Washington are most cordial, as they were with his predecessor.

"We must, I think, in the approach to Christian Unity, supplement our prayers by practical effort to know and understand each other, and by working together in all ways that do not require the compromise of fundamental principles. At this juncture, my judgment is that the plan adopted by this Church of honouring men with special invitations to speak on special occasions is more desirable and helpful than a free interchange of pulpits. Quite recently the Bishop of Pennsylvania preached in a Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, at the request of the Pastor, on a special subject—I think on Christian Unity—and, I am sure, felt it an honour and privilege so to do.—Very sincerely yours,

"(Signed) ALFRED HARDING,
"Bishop of Washington."

(3) The Rev. Dr. F. C. Morehouse, editor of *The Living Church,* the leading organ of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, writes in a letter dated June 4th, 1918, to say that the impression that the exchange of pulpits is freely practised is not correct, and goes on to explain its origin in these terms:

"The General Convention of 1907 added to Canon 20, as now numbered, the words underlined in the following quotation; all prior to what is underlined being the form of the Canon as existing prior to that date:—

"'No minister in charge of any Congregation of this Church, or in case of vacancy or absence, no Churchwardens, Vestrymen, or Trustees of the Congregation, shall permit any person to officiate therein, without sufficient evidence of his being duly licensed or ordained to minister in this Church, provided that nothing herein shall be so construed as to forbid communicants of the Church to act as Lay Readers; or to prevent the Bishop of any Diocese or Missionary District from giving permission to Christian men, who are not ministers of this Church, to make addresses in the Church on special occasions.'

"There were a number at that time who interpreted the new legislation in such wise as to admit the preaching of sermons by ministers of other communions, and to some extent that practice began. At once a widespread memorial to the House of Bishops was circulated for signature protesting against such an interpretation and asking the House of Bishops to state officially whether the new practice was or was not justified by the new legislation. As a result of that memorial, the House of Bishops adopted an interpretation as follows:

"'The Committee appointed to consider what reply should be made to the Memorial presented to the House of Bishops concerning Canon 19, having considered the matter, respectfully recommend the adoption by the House of the following reply:

"'"In reply to a Memorial signed by over eleven hundred clergymen, addressed to the House of Bishops, with regard to the amendment to Canon 19 adopted by the General Convention of 1907, the Bishops would assure the Memorialists of their sympathy with the anxiety expressed lest the clause in question should be misinterpreted as making light of either the importance of sound teaching in our congregations, in accordance with the Church's received doctrine, or of a commission to teach in the Church's name.

"' "The clause, which restricts to the Bishop the right to give permission to those who are not Ministers of this Church to make addresses in any of our churches on special occasions, was not intended to alter and cannot be fairly interpreted as in the least degree modifying the position of the Church as expressed in the Prayer Book and Ordinal, which restricts the ministry of the Word and Sacrament in our Congregations to men who have received Episcopal ordination."

"' The Bishops are disposed to regard this declaration as almost unnecessary, except as a matter of courtesy and respect to the number and character of the Memorialists; since the Canon, at first popularly misnamed and misunderstood as an Open Canon, and perhaps in a few instances misused, is now generally recognised as containing nothing to disturb the order or disquiet the peace of the Church.'"

From Bishop W. F. McDowell, of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

"*22nd June,* 1918.

"MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—Immediately upon receipt of your favour of May 14th, I submitted it to Bishop Harding of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Bishop of the Diocese of Washington, in order that the answer might be officially correct. He sends me a copy of a letter which he has written to you, to which I hardly need to add anything, except to say that there is virtually no exchange of pulpits between the Protestant Episcopal clergy and the other clergy of the United States such as exists between ministers of other denominations. For instance, a Presbyterian pastor and a Methodist pastor may exchange pulpits on the basis of absolute equality and entirely on their own initiative and arrangements. Neither of them has to get the permission of any other person. Each goes to the church of the other and conducts the *regular* service as though he were the pastor of the church. You will observe in the canon quoted by Bishop Harding that this permission is not even provided in the Protestant Episcopal Church. A *Bishop* may give permission to *Christian men,* who are not ministers of this Church, to make *addresses* in the church on *special* occasions. That is a very different matter. Between the clergy of other churches there are no such limitations as are involved in the words of this canon. Carefully observe the great caution involved in these terms, 'permission to Christian men,' not permission to Christian ministers of other churches, but permission to Christian men who are not ministers of *this* Church. You see the difference. Observe this also, 'to make addresses in the Church,' which is clearly intended to distinguish the service that such a man may render from the sacred office of preaching in the church by a minister standing on an ecclesiastical level with the rector of the church. Observe also 'on special occasions.' Ministers of other denominations exchange *as ministers* for *regular* services.

"Of course I do not need to tell you that the personal spirit and attitude of the ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church is not uniform. Some of their men are very generous and liberal in their spirit, as I think Bishop Harding is. We maintain the most beautiful personal relations with many of them, but there is a fundamental ecclesiastical difference. The Protestant Episcopal Church, upon the whole and officially, regards its orders as it does not regard ours.

"This really is part of the difficulty attending all our negotiations for Christian Union. There is a great deal of good spirit in existence among us, but those of us who are not in the Protestant Episcopal Church feel and are constantly made to feel that those who are in that Church regard their ministry as having a sanction not possessed by ours. Take, for example, the difference between the episcopacy of the Protestant Episcopal Church and of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the Methodist Episcopal Church we regard the episcopacy not as a separate order but as an office held by an elder.

"I trust you may work out in your own country some adjustment that may guide us in this. That there is need of such guidance is perfectly manifest.

"Will you allow me to take advantage of the fact that I am writing you on this subject to express to you our deepening interest in co-operation with Great Britain? It will be worth a good deal to the world if these two countries, which ought to be such friends, and theoretically are such friends, should actually be united in a real vital affection and friendship one for another.—With very best personal regards, I am, dear Sir Henry, sincerely yours,

"(Signed) William Fraser McDowell."

CHAPTER XV

MY VISIT TO THE VATICAN (1895)

Pope's Encyclical *Ad Anglos*—Dean Fremantle suggests Reply by Grindelwald Conference—Text of the Reply—Letter from Cardinal Rampolla—My Visit to Rome—Interview with Monsignor Merry del Val—Conversation with Father Whitmee—Roman View of Reunion—Social Intercourse with Roman Dignitaries.

Ecclesia principalis unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est.—CYPRIAN.

The apostles founded churches in the revived cities, from which the churches borrowed the layers and seeds of faith and doctrine, and still constantly borrow and thus become churches.—TERTULLIAN.

THE first three years of the Conferences had arrested the attention of all the leaders of Christianity in Great Britain. The Archbishop of Canterbury and other Bishops of the Church of England, the Presidents and Chairmen of the different Free Churches, and General Booth, had all dealt with the matter in special addresses to their people. In 1895 Pope Leo XIII. issued his important encyclical *Ad Anglos* dealing with the question of reunion. The Archbishop of Canterbury and his brother prelate of York dealt at length with this notable communication from the Vatican.

It was therefore inevitable that the Grindelwald Conference—the existence of which undoubtedly had been one of the factors leading to this Encyclical—should carefully consider the document. It was felt by Dean Fremantle, after a conversation with the Marquess of Ripon, that it was incumbent upon the Conference to make some reply to the Pope. He pointed out that there was no corporate organisation in England which had so legitimate a right to reply to the Pope as this absolutely unofficial, and yet, in a sense, thoroughly representative gathering, which had now met for four years in Switzerland.

An influential committee, which included the Dean of Ripon; the Archdeacon of Manchester; the ex-Moderators of the Presbyterian Churches; the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, the then President; and the Rev. Dr. Charles A. Berry, the ex-President of the Free Church Congress; Dr. Henry J. Pope, ex-President of the Wesleyan Methodist Church; and others, drew up the following reply to the Pope's Encyclical:

"REPLY OF THE REUNION CONFERENCE AT GRINDELWALD TO THE APOSTOLIC LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII.

"*To the English People.*

"Sincere greetings and goodwill in our common Lord. As a company of English Christians met together to further the sacred cause of the Reunion of Christendom, we desire to acknowledge the Christian courtesy and devout aspiration of your Holiness's letter.

"While we cannot forget the teaching of history that existing divisions arose in defence of vital elements of Apostolic Christianity and scriptural truth, we lament the present divided state of Christendom, and with your Holiness continually pray for the visible unity of the Catholic and Apostolic Church.

"We acknowledge with gratitude to Almighty God the existence of a real spiritual unity underlying our differences, and manifesting itself not only in common service rendered to mankind, but in the prayer and praise of a common Christian life, in the numerous signs of a common Christian experience, and in the signal blessing which the God of all grace has bestowed on every fragment of the divided Catholic Church.

"We are persuaded that our Lord Jesus Christ Himself is the only possible centre of Christian unity, and that the indwelling spirit of the Father and of the Son in every Christian heart not only constitutes a spiritual unity which man can neither create nor destroy, but furnishes the conditions of that manifested unity for which our Blessed Lord prayed.

"We believe that unity must be attained, not by the absorption of Christians in any one communion of the divided Catholic Church, but by such a union as will conserve all the elements of Christian truth and practice which, in the providence of God, the various Christian communions have severally exhibited and defended.

"We gladly and affectionately join in your appeal for united and continuous prayer to the Triune God, that in His great power and mercy He would overrule all things to the end that the visible unity of His Church may at length be fully manifested according to His purpose.

"And, lastly, we implore the Father of all mercies that He would in His infinite compassion increase in us the spirit of brotherly love for our fellow Christians which breathes through the letter addressed by your Holiness to the English people."

EPISCOPALIAN.

F. W. FARRAR, Dean of Canterbury and Chaplain to the Queen.

W. H. FREMANTLE, Dean of Ripon.

FRANCIS PIGOU, Dean of Bristol.

JAMES H. WILSON, Archdeacon of Manchester.

PRESBYTERIAN.

J. MONRO GIBSON, Ex-Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of England.

THOMAS M. LINDSAY, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Free Church of Scotland College, Glasgow.

CONGREGATIONALIST.

CHARLES A. BERRY, Ex-President of the Free Church Congress.

ALEX. MACKENNAL, Secretary of the Free Church Congress.

WILLIAM T. STEAD, Editor of *The Review of Reviews*.

URIJAH R. THOMAS, Chairman of the Congregational Union.

BAPTIST.

J. HUNT COOKE, Editor of the Baptist *Freeman.*

J. G. GREENHOUGH, President of the Baptist Union.

RICHARD GLOVER, Ex-President of the Baptist Union.

CHARLES WILLIAMS, Ex-President of the Baptist Union.

METHODIST.

PERCY WILLIAM BUNTING, Editor of the *Contemporary Review.*

H. PRICE HUGHES, President of the Free Church Congress.

HENRY J. POPE, Ex-President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference.

HENRY S. LUNN, President of the Grindelwald Conference.

On October 8th I received the following letter from Cardinal Rampolla, the Secretary of State at the Vatican :

"DEAR SIR,—I received your valued communication dated September 28th, and from it I notice the office which has been entrusted to you by the Grindelwald Conference. I am therefore pleased to hope that the discharge of that office will procure me the pleasure of making your personal acquaintance, and cherish the hope that your desire of being received in audience by the Holy Father will be complied with, though I assume that you are acquainted with the customs and traditions of the Pontifical Court, in accordance with which, in granting audiences with His Holiness, it is usual to communicate the matter contained in any address which it is desired to submit to His Holiness.

"Meanwhile I avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my greatest esteem. "M. CARD. RAMPOLLA."

As a result of this letter I went to the Vatican on October 19th, accompanied by Count Cassell, one of the Pope's private chamberlains, to whom I had a letter of introduction, and presented the document, in the first place, to Monsignor Merry del Val, the domestic chamberlain of the Pope, who has since become a Cardinal and has been Secretary of State.

I was at once impressed with the breadth and accuracy of the information which the Vatican enjoys with reference to Protestant life and thought in England. Monsignor Merry del Val was perfectly conversant with the course of the discussions at Grindelwald, and said to me, in a matter-of-fact fashion which might have been adopted by an English country Methodist, "I see that Mr. Hugh Price Hughes caused a great sensation at Grindelwald this year by his proposal for a universal board school system based on the teaching of the Apostles' Creed; but you have hardly given as much attention to the question of reunion as in previous sessions of your Conference."

He looked at the address, and commented at once on the remarkable fact that Dean Farrar, who, he said, "has just been praising Savonarola and other heretics at St. Margaret's, Westminster," and two or three other signatories known as pronounced Protestants should have signed any address whatever to the Pope.

He went on to say that the document seemed rather to mean that we must agree to differ. To this I took exception, saying, "That is hardly so; the document means that for the first time in history the leading representatives of the great Protestant denominations in England, and pronounced Protestants in the English Church, are prepared in a courteous and appreciative manner to reciprocate the kindly expressions of His Holiness the Pope. They also recognise that unity is the divine ideal; and though they state so plainly their Protestant position as to show that there are now apparently insuperable barriers to reunion with the Roman Church, and that they do not see how these barriers are for the present to be taken down, yet they have felt it their duty to join with the Pope in prayer for the realisation of our Lord's purpose concerning His Church."

It was at that time the duty of Monsignor Merry del Val, as one of the Pope's four domestic chaplains, to keep him informed of all religious movements in Great Britain. For this duty he was singularly qualified. His mother was an Englishwoman. He had spent long periods of residence in England, was a man of wide culture, speaking with equal fluency English, French, Spanish, Italian and Latin, with a considerable knowledge of German. He was a man of great personal charm, and this talent and his other great natural abilities were used by his Church with that skill which contributes so much to her power.

He at once arranged for me to have an early interview with Cardinal Rampolla, the Secretary of State, as a necessary preliminary to the interview with the Pope if that were deemed possible.

On October 21st I was presented to Cardinal Rampolla by Count Cassell. He was an ecclesiastic of a very different type—a somewhat corpulent Sicilian—he quite lacked personal attractiveness, and gave one an impression of something sinister. He was greatly interested in this manifestation of a Protestant desire for unity, but frankly stated that from what he had heard of the contents of the document he feared that it was too controversial to be accepted by Pope Leo.

This opinion was borne out by the event. The address was translated by English-speaking prelates and submitted to the Pope, and two days later Count Cassell was requested by Cardinal Rampolla to inform me that, while the Pope would be glad to grant me a private audience, he could not receive me as the President of the Grindelwald Conference and as the bearer of a document which contained so many doctrines subversive of the principles of the Catholic Church.

I felt that it was due to the distinguished men who had signed the address that I should not accept a private interview, and I returned to England.

While some extreme Protestants criticised the action of the Grindelwald Conference in sending such an address to the Pope, I was much interested to find that representative

Protestants in Rome welcomed the address as an exposition of Protestant principles, and were eager to secure, and succeeded in securing, its publication in the Roman Liberal daily papers.

My visit to Rome gave me a most interesting opportunity to see more of the inner working of Catholicism than is possible for most Protestants. After my interview with Cardinal Rampolla, Count Cassell and I went to the rectory of San Silvestro in Capite, the church of the English-speaking Catholics in Rome. We lunched with the Rector, Father Whitmee (himself an English convert), and two or three members of the Society of Missions, to which the Rector belonged. The church was a favourite with the Queen of Italy, who had a strong bias in favour of things English, and who had breakfasted with Father Whitmee a few weeks previous to our visit.

I had an interesting conversation with Father Whitmee, who expressed the same view as all the other Catholics that I met, namely, that Rome could not possibly modify her position. His statement, however, of the Roman doctrine of baptism shows how ready Rome is and always has been to accommodate her doctrines to the necessities of any given situation. In the early history of the Church, as Father Whitmee himself pointed out, men were martyred before their baptism. It was obviously necessary to make the doctrine of baptismal regeneration harmonise with this fact. Accordingly, the early fathers invented the theory of what is termed "baptism by blood." They taught that anyone suffering martyrdom previous to baptism enjoyed all the benefits of baptism by pouring out his blood for his faith. So also when anyone desirous to become a Christian died in a desert, or any other place where water was not to be had, they were held to enjoy "baptism by desire."

As I pointed out to Father Whitmee, if it were possible for the Roman Church to teach dogmatically a doctrine so closely allied to that held by the Society of Friends, it might

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easily be possible for some future Pontiff to invent the doctrine of "ordination by desire," and thus to get over many difficulties that now stand in the way of reunion.

On the question of Anglican Orders, I found a very strong feeling among all these dignitaries that English Orders could not be recognised. They all said the same thing with mechanical consistency. "The difficulty is the question of fact. If it could be conclusively proved that the succession is absolutely unbroken, and that there has always been the intention, both on the part of the ordaining Bishop and the ordained deacon, to receive priestly functions, an intention which certainly did not exist in the case of the great majority of English Churchmen for about a hundred years, it would then be impossible for us to deny the validity of Anglican Orders. In the case of the Abyssinian Church, which was one with which we should have been glad to disclaim any kinship, we were obliged to acknowledge most undesirable specimens of bishops because they had a valid succession; and to-day if any of the Bishops of the Nestorian Church submit to Rome they are immediately recognised as Bishops and wear episcopal vestments. It is therefore useless for Lord Halifax or any other English Churchman to hope to persuade the Pope to make concessions on this question. The Pope himself, though he be infallible, cannot affect a matter of fact. If it could be proved that the unbroken succession had been maintained 'with intention' then the whole question would be settled."

My social intercourse with the Catholic dignitaries was very enjoyable. I was dining one day at the Irish College as the guest of Monsignor Kelly, and the dinner party included Prior Glynn, of the Augustinian Order, and the ex-Prior of the English Dominican Monastery and several other very delightful men.

During the dinner, which I may say was an excellent one, Prior Glynn turned to me and said, "You Protestants have given up altogether the practice of fasting and abstinence."

"Not quite so," I replied. "In the Methodist Theological College where I was trained it was the custom never to take meat for breakfast on Friday, and dinner was optional, being provided for those who desired it, but a number of men would take a round of dry bread and spend the hour in meditation and prayer. Perhaps, Prior, you would not call that abstinence."

"Abstinence," he replied, with a twinkle in his eye, "that was abstinence indeed! Poor fellows! They needed the guidance of the Catholic Church."

In my many conversations with members of the Roman Church I was greatly impressed with the absolute harmony of intellectual outlook, even on points where some divergence might have been expected. Alike on the question of Anglican Orders, on the various doctrinal points in which the Church of Rome differs from the Protestant communities, and on the many matters of ecclesiastical polity which we discussed together, I found not only identity of thought but absolute identity of expression. Whether such complete uniformity is a gain is at least open to question.

I left Rome more profoundly convinced than ever of the devotion of many individual members of the Roman Church and of the spiritual unity which binds the best men in it to the saints of all nations and all ages, but also more clearly conscious than ever of the wide chasm which separates Rome as an ecclesiastical organisation alike from the "Orthodox" East and from the Protestant West.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DEATH OF HUGH PRICE HUGHES AND AFTERWARDS

A Year of Disaster—Sympathy of Friends—Hugh Price Hughes—Lord Harcourt—Dr. Edward Lyttelton—My Last Swiss Holiday with Hughes—His Death and Funeral Service—St. Hugh's Day—" Holy Boldness "—Rugby Chapel—Prayers for the Dead—The Watchnight Service of 1903.

We learn only from those we love.—ANON.

I believe it to be a duty to observe, to pray for the faithful departed. —JOHN WESLEY.

Lord, make me one with Thine own faithful ones,
The saints who love Thee and are loved by Thee,
Till the day break and till the shadows flee.
—CHRISTINA ROSSETTI.

THERE are years of our lives which, as they pass uneventfully away, leave little mark upon our memory. Others are crowded with experiences, tragic or joyous, which can never be forgotten. These years stand out like rocks in the river of time, where the current has divided and rushed rapidly by. Such a year in my life was 1902.

In 1901, after the heavy business losses which had been the inevitable result of my public attitude in opposition to the Boer War,[1] I had dissolved partnership with a wealthy man and remained alone with my brother Holdsworth, a devoted colleague at all times, to face a great storm. I was obliged, through a public disaster, to add to the almost ruinous losses of the Boer War days, further heavy losses in 1902, which would have been easily faced with a reasonable capitalist partner, but which, without such support, were only made tolerable by the hard work and loyalty of my brother and the sympathy of my friends.

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[1] During the war I was Chairman of the New Reform Club, of which Sir Robert Reid (afterwards Earl Loreburn and Lord Chancellor) was President, and Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Lewis Harcourt Vice-Presidents. This Club represented that section of the Liberal party which regarded the war as an unnecessary evil, and supported the conclusion of an early peace. I was also a member of the National Reform Union Committee which organised the dinner to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Lord Morley, which was the occasion of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's speech on " The Methods of Barbarism." On Mafeking Day, as Mr. Lloyd George was detained at the House of Commons, I took his place at the Exeter Hall meeting, and moved the first resolution condemning the war. The policy of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in restoring self-government to the

On June 24th Hughes arrived by the continental boat at Dover to read in the papers of the illness of King Edward and the postponement of the Coronation. He left his luggage at 8, Taviton Street and came round to 5, Endsleigh Gardens, travel-stained as he was, to know whether certain very large shipping and other contracts of mine for the Coronation celebrations and Naval Review could be faced without ruin. I can see him now sitting in my office or pacing up and down the room wiping his forehead as he asked me his passionately anxious questions and sighed with infinite relief when he heard that, great as were the losses my brother and I had incurred, some thousands at least were covered by insurance.

One other friend I must refer to in this connection. Mr. Lewis Harcourt (now Lord Harcourt) invited me a few weeks after the King's illness to dine with his father, Sir William Harcourt, and a few friends who had worked together through the Boer War in those days when official Liberalism spoke with uncertain voice. When I came into the room he welcomed me in his own characteristically cordial way and said, "Well, Lunn, how are you coming through all this?"

I told him briefly what it meant to me, and he said, "When we heard of the King's illness my wife said, 'I am thinking of the poor King,' and I said, 'I am also thinking of poor Lunn.'"

These were not empty words, but in the trying months

Transvaal and Orange River Colony has remedied the disastrous policy of the Government of those days, and has given us a United Empire and the services of General Botha and General Smuts and their fellow-countrymen in the great European War.

that followed he and two or three other friends made recovery possible. There are some acts of friendship such as his prompt action then which go far to compensate for, as well as to lessen, the force of those heavy blows of adversity which had called them forth.

In the late summer Hughes and I spent our last holiday together on the Swiss mountains. Although there had been warnings of the danger that threatened him, yet his energy was amazing. He was only fifty-five and seemed almost in the prime of life. I remember one glorious day when we walked from Grindelwald to the Great Scheidegg, and for three hours during that walk he discussed with an ecclesiastically-minded layman the problems of English religious life. He spoke with a vigour that would have sufficed for an audience of ten thousand, and yet from time to time he would pause to express the joy he always experienced in the presence of those great giants of the Bernese Oberland that flanked our pathway. He had that strange gift which Blackburne and one or two other chess-players have possessed, of dealing with a problem with, as it were, one lobe of the brain, and keeping the other free for another subject or problem. One other friend of mine, Dr. Edward Lyttelton, the Head Master of Eton, has the same gift. In those last few happy years before the present war he used to sit for hours during the Fourth of June cricket matches discussing all kinds of questions, and then say to me, "Now I have seen every ball and how it has been played since we have been here and you have not seen one."

This energy of Hughes was the last outburst before the catastrophe. On November 16th I had gone to my old home for my father's seventieth birthday, or I should have been with Hughes on November 17th when he went to hear his friend and mine, Monsieur Sabatier, lecture at Sion College on St. Francis of Assisi. As he came away from that lecture he was stricken and never recovered consciousness.

On one of those sunny days at Grindelwald which filled the last pages of our friendship he said to me as we sat in front of the hotel where he was staying, a few hundred feet above the village, "I want you to preach for me on November 23rd at St. James's Hall."

On that day of perfect fellowship and communion of spirit it would have seemed incredible if we had been told that at that Sunday morning service on the date fixed by him for my sermon two months later I should have been speaking to two thousand of his friends and followers of the brave life that had suddenly ended six days before. Yet so it was. On Sunday, November 16th, he announced in his clear incisive tones, "Next Sunday Dr. Lunn will preach in this hall in the morning, and I shall be here at night," and the next day he passed to his reward and left me.

"The divided half of such
A friendship as had mastered Time,
Which masters Time, indeed, and is
Eternal, separate from fears,
The all-assuming months and years
Can take no part away from this."

I have little sympathy with those who try magic methods to penetrate the veil that shields the world of the departed from our curious gaze, but I have never doubted the nearness of the "Cloud of Witnesses." On that Sunday Hughes seemed to me nearer in spirit—more intimately my friend—than ever before. So to his friends that day and in succeeding years he has been a presence to stimulate and encourage them to follow him as he followed Christ.

Years after, I found that the day he died was in the Old English Liturgy, by strange appropriateness, St. Hugh's Day, and the collect for the day showed how much there was in common between him and that great Bishop, St. Hugh of Lincoln.

The collect runs thus:

"O merciful Father, Who didst endow Thy servant Hugh with a wise and cheerful boldness, and didst teach him to commend the discipline of holy life to kings and princes, give us grace not only to be bold, but to have just cause for boldness, even the fear and love of Thyself alone."

Never man more commended Christ by a "holy boldness." It was he who had invented the characteristic phrase, "Christian audacity." *"L'audace, encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace,"* might be written across every page of his life.

John Wesley had held that prayers for our loved ones should not cease when they were veiled from our vision. Thus I felt and feel about Hughes that we are still united in prayer and purpose. I found great comfort during this period in Matthew Arnold's poems, and particularly "Rugby Chapel." In the days that followed, as I walked every morning past Harrow Chapel to the station, I used silently to repeat that inspiring negation of death and found consolation in the thought expressed in the lines:

"O strong soul, by what shore
Tarriest thou now? For that force,
Surely has not been left vain!
Somewhere surely afar
In the sounding labour house, vast
Of being, is practised that strength,
Zealous, beneficent, firm!"

And further on in the poem there were those words so true of him:

"But thou would'st not *alone*
Be saved, my father, *alone*
Conquer and come to thy goal,
Leaving the rest in the wild.
We were weary and we
Fearful, and we in our march
Fain to drop down and to die,
Still thou turnedst and still
Beckonedst the trembler, and still
Gavest the weary thy hand.

"If in the paths of the world
Stones might have wounded thy feet,
Toil or dejection have tried
Thy spirit, of that we saw
Nothing—to us thou was still
Cheerful and helpful and firm,
Therefore to thee it was given
Many to save with thyself;
And at the end of thy day,
O faithful shepherd! to come,
Bringing the sheep in thy hand. . . ."

And in those days, when the sorrow of separation was keenest, I was comforted by the following prayer, given me by a friend, which I record for those who may read this page, to whom this terrible war has meant separation for a while from those they love best:

"O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, in Whose embrace all creatures live, in whatsoever world or condition they be, I beseech Thee for him whose name and dwelling-place and every need Thou knowest. Lord, vouchsafe him light and rest, peace and refreshment, joy and consolation in Paradise, in the companionship of saints, in the presence of Christ, in the ample folds of Thy great love.

"Grant that his life may unfold itself in Thy sight, and find sweet employment in the spacious fields of eternity.

"Tell him, O gracious Lord, if it may be, how much I love him and miss him, and long to see him again; and if there be ways in which he may come, vouchsafe him to me as a guide and guard, and grant me a sense of his nearness in such degree as Thy laws permit.

"If in aught I can minister to his peace, be pleased of Thy love to let this be; and mercifully keep me from every act which may deprive me of the sight of him as soon as our trial time is over or mar the fullness of our joy when the end of the day has come.

"Pardon, O gracious Lord and Father, whatever is amiss in this my prayer, and let Thy will be done; for my will is blind and erring, but Thine is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think; through Jesus Christ our Lord."

It has always seemed to me a satire on the thoughtlessness of many dear but bigoted people that forty years ago there should have been an unreasoning hatred of anything that had been rejected or merely disused by the Reformers out of the rich heritage of Catholic faith and practice, and yet that so many should have delighted in one particular passage of Tennyson. The favourite passage in manuscript anthologies of those days was the one from "The Passing of Arthur," which begins:

> "More things are wrought by prayer
> Than this world dreams of."

Seldom indeed did any of these mid-Victorian scribes begin from the words immediately preceding:

> "Pray for my soul."

It never occurred to them that the prayers referred to were prayers for the dead.

The fact is that in hours of great emotion the soul grasps truths which in the ordinary course of life may be kept out of our reach by ecclesiastical barriers and religious prejudices.

To imagine that our departed friends convey messages to us by the media of oscillating furniture, planchettes and automatic writing by those who never knew them and never would have known them if they had lived under the same roof with them for years has always seemed to me to profane friendship.

That in the realm of the spirit it may be our privilege to be stimulated by the loving sympathy of those we have lost for awhile, and to respond by our prayers for their peace and ever-increasing illumination, was one of those certainties that grew more definite and absolute out of those days of sorrow.

It lies outside the purpose of this volume to describe the vicissitudes of the life in the world of affairs that ran parallel with the events here recorded. It is necessary, however, to say that the national catastrophe of the King's illness on June 24th, 1902, left a deep mark upon all my after years.

The losses then sustained prevented my parliamentary candidature in 1906, for good or ill kept me out of the maelstrom of politics, and necessitated a rigid attention to a business which was sufficiently engrossing and exacting at all times.

In the anxiety and resulting discipline of those first months that followed the loss of Hughes from his activities here, I am not sure that his friendship did not do more for me than if he had been present with us still. The remembrance of his passion for Christ, and for all for whom He died, made the trials of my own life seem of no account as I looked beyond them to the inheritance into which he had entered. Day by day, week by week, month by month, through the strenuous work and grave difficulties of 1903 the sense of Christ's love providing the discipline of life made tolerable days of anxiety that might well have crushed out hope and energy.

I was spending the Christmas holidays of 1903—1904 with my wife and boys in Switzerland, but paid a hurried visit to England at the end of the year. I timed my visit, as I had done the year before, to spend the last hour of the year at St. James's Hall with my dear friend, Charles Ensor Walters, who, with admirable courage and rare gifts of utterance and sympathy and love, carried on the work of Hughes successfully during the next few years.

That Watchnight Service was marked by one of those experiences which leave a deep impress on the spiritual life, but which to a great extent cannot be expressed in words.

The service was pursuing its ordinary course. We were all looking back over the dying year and making the usual resolutions, when suddenly all this was changed for me. Once again, as on December 31st, 1898, it seemed to me as though "the veil were rent from the top to the bottom" and the great facts of God, Judgment, Eternity, were revealed as the certainties among a myriad uncertainties, the realities amid all fleeting phenomena. And with this glimpse of reality there came a vision of the infinite need of an Infinite Saviour. Words that had long been mere worn counters suddenly seemed to acquire a new significance that burned itself into my mind.

I cannot say more. During these midnight hours and oftentimes in the solitude of night I knew that the Christ Whom my dearest friend Hughes had loved and faithfully served was revealing Himself to me that I might serve Him more faithfully. My friendship with Hughes meant much to me whilst he lived. It has remained one of the strongest influences in the years that have followed.

CHAPTER XVII

THE HARROW FIFTY CLUB (1899 AND ONWARDS)

Saturday Afternoon Rambles with Hughes—Harrow—The School—The "Fifty Club"—Sir Jesse Herbert—Club Discussions—"Father Tom" Hancock—Visitors to the Club: Lord Lytton, Sir John Gorst, and Others—Dinner to Bishop Welldon—Winston Churchill at Harrow—Lady Dorothy Neville and Mr. Lloyd George—The Harrow Masters—Lay Sermons in the College School Chapel—Harrow Masters, Past and Present—Recent School Novels.

We rub each other's angles down.—TENNYSON, "In Memoriam."

HUGHES and I made it our rule to go by train a few miles out of London on Saturday afternoons and take a country walk, returning from a different station.

On one of these walks we came to Harrow and called upon the Head Master, Mr. Welldon, whom I knew as a contributor to the *Review of the Churches*. Mr. Welldon showed us over the Chapel, the Vaughan Library, the Fourth Form room and the Playing Fields. In the course of conversation we discussed the system adopted by Harrow of having home boarders. Mr. Welldon said, "These boys constitute a house; they have their own head of the house, their own football team and their cricket eleven, and in this way have a corporate life of their own. The system works excellently, and the boys have all the advantages of home life with many of the advantages of Public School life."

After some consideration, I decided to leave London and reside in Harrow, to send my sons to Orley Farm, the excellent Harrow preparatory school, and afterwards to Harrow

Henry Lunn, Senr. Peter Northcote Lunn. Arnold Lunn. Sir Henry Lunn.

FOUR GENERATIONS

School itself. Arnold went into Owen's house; Hugh remained a home boarder.

My life at Harrow has been marked by one successful effort, which though far removed from, is still in a sense allied to, the Grindelwald Conferences.

After two years' residence it occurred to me that it might be possible to form a club on the lines of our Contemporary Club in Dublin, which first gave me the idea of the Reunion Conferences at Grindelwald, a Club which would meet once a week on Saturday evenings for informal discussions on current questions and other topics, literary, historical and scientific, suggested by the members.

I formed the Club as follows: Taking in my pocket the Directory of Harrow, I went to the houses of my different friends and asked whom they considered most representative of every shade of political and religious opinion amongst our Harrow residents. I first of all interviewed the three Vicars of Harrow; Father Graham, the Roman Catholic priest; Monsignor, now Bishop, Dunn, who was then chaplain of the Convent of the Visitation and Secretary to Cardinal Vaughan; the Baptist minister; and the Wesleyan Methodist minister. I then asked those of the Masters who thought they could spare the time for those discussions, though in consequence of the hard work of a Harrow Master during term time, their attendance was always rather irregular.

Our vicar, Mr. Wayland Joyce, made a very sensible remark to me at this stage. He said: "You will have to make up your mind whether this is going to be an aristocratic club or a democratic club. If you do not take care it will become an overwhelmingly respectable body." It is difficult to found such a club in the neighbourhood of London which will not be monotonously respectable and conservative.

In my anxiety to avoid this pitfall, I asked anxiously for the names of any Liberals.

I was recommended to call upon Mr. Jesse Herbert (afterwards Sir Jesse Herbert). This was a memorable visit for me. Sir Jesse Herbert became, from that time onwards, one of my best friends. He died just after Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister. He was a loyal supporter of Mr. Asquith and believed in his friend, Mr. Lloyd George.

Beginning life as the son of a minister of one of the minor Methodist bodies, Herbert was handicapped as a young man because of some strange scruples which his father had. His father held that it was quite right for single ministers to be paid for their services, but that when a man married he ought to earn his own living. He resigned his position in the ministry and earned his living by his own hands, but had no money to spend on the education of his son. Herbert was possessed of great intellectual powers, and in the poverty of his boyhood began to earn money by writing for the *Christian World* and other papers. With this money he bought his first books, and a little later by some accident he came to know Auberon Herbert, with whose family he was distantly connected, and he gave him the run of his library.

Herbert worked hard, took his degree at London University, and then qualified as a barrister.

During his studies he was attracted by the Society of Friends and became a convinced member. He settled down at Birmingham, and rapidly secured a considerable practice there. He was closely associated with Joseph Chamberlain and Jesse Collins in their Radical days. When the Home Rule Campaign began he remained a Gladstonian, and his practice vanished. For a time he was legal adviser to the Chinese Government in South China. After his return from China Mr. Cadbury was asked by Mr. Herbert Gladstone if he could recommend a man to reorganise the Liberal party which had just suffered its great defeat of 1895. Mr. Cadbury recommended Jesse Herbert, and he then entered upon the work in which he achieved the triumphant success of the election of 1906 after many years of arduous toil.

There was something of the prophet about Herbert. When he spoke at the club, which was much too seldom for the taste of the members, he spoke with a passion which stirred everyone, friend and opponent alike. The views he held he held very strongly. I may venture to relate one incident which he told me just before his death. He was going out to Harrow, with two officers and two or three other people in the compartment. One of these officers—a captain —repeated to the other a current lie about the Prime Minister. "What do you mean by saying that?" said Herbert. "What the hell is that to you?" replied the officer. "It is everything to me," said Herbert. "Mr. Asquith is a personal friend of mine; I know him and honour him, and I know that what you have said is a lie. When you get out of this carriage I shall follow you wherever you go and hand you over to the police under the Defence of the Realm Act. I am not sure that you are not a German spy." The officer, in alarm, said, "Well, what can I do?" "Do?" said Herbert; "you can say that on my authority you believe it to be a lie, that you are very sorry you said it, and apologise to everyone in the compartment," which the officer promptly did. It would be well if other scandalmongers during the war could have been dealt with in a similar drastic fashion.

This chapter was written long before the Billing trial of June, 1918, had flooded the world with a torrent of preposterous scandal such as had never deluged a Court of Law since the days of Titus Oates.

The story which Herbert constructed was mild compared with the base and baseless attacks upon public men which are fashionable just now. There is no more misleading proverb than the one which gives such joy to the talebearers, "There is no smoke without fire." It is as false in physics as it is in society.

Mrs. Asquith herself was a victim of these gross rumours, spread by "men of low intelligence and high credulity," to quote Mr. Asquith at the Aldwych Club. She ordered food for her stepson, the present Colonel Asquith, when he was in the Dardanelles. Our bright spy-hunters overheard the order for the Dardanelles, and apparently imagined the goods were for Donington Hall and pursued her with Press attacks. She told me this herself. She sued the *Globe* for libel and got £1,000 damages and an ample apology. I was reminded of my own case when I was in Dublin and of the Barrister who defeated my candidature for the Chair of the Historical Society by spreading lies about me. The story is told on page 44. It is even easier now, in a time of war, to get home on one's rivals. You have only to tell two old women of either sex in strict confidence that so-and-so is pro-German, an alien, a naturalised Britisher or not naturalised—it is all the same—and then the poison begins to work, and the noblest and most loyal of our citizens are persecuted, day in and day out, till they get broken. It hardly wants a Billing to do these things. The story of the Russians in England in the autumn of 1914, although it divided families in opinion, was perfectly harmless. It damaged no one; but any thoughtful person just now must wonder if a nation is fit to win the war as long as it seems to emulate that evil spirit to subdue which our heroes are facing death and dying.

Let us be true in spirit as well as faithful unto death. We are living in terrible days. Peace without victory may mean defeat without peace. We must fight on, but let us fight with clear eyes and a clean soul.

Another striking member of the Club is an American citizen who has lived for many years in Harrow. I was told that he was an exceptionally able man and an agnostic. I thought that on every ground it was desirable that we should secure his presence. To the great benefit of the Club, and I hope he will permit me to say not to his own loss, he became one of our most valued members.

In the years that followed, it is interesting to note that one who had been looked upon by the orthodox in Harrow as a sort of *enfant terrible* gained the esteem of the Club as a whole and the special friendship of some of its members. He was a man of convictions which differed from those held by most of us, but this did not prevent him from forming a close friendship with a brilliant priest of the Roman Church who often joined forces with him against those who claimed to hold their faith by reason and not by authority. The reasonableness of their position was attacked by the unbeliever, and their lack of a basis of authority by the Roman priest.

A purely literary discussion on the religion of Shakespeare gave a striking illustration at once of the universality of the poet's mind and also of the varied attitudes taken up by the members of our club. Our friend, the American citizen, demonstrated by quotations from Shakespeare that our great dramatist must have been a veiled unbeliever in a time when the assertion of unbelief was perilous. A clerical Master proved equally convincingly that Shakespeare was an orthodox member of the Church of England. Herbert was convinced that though Shakespeare could not have been chronologically a follower of George Fox, he was in essence a Quaker, whilst the Roman priest proved almost beyond gainsaying that Shakespeare must have been a secret member of the Roman Church.

Dr. Wood, the new Head Master, was our first President, and he occupied that position for seven years, but never attended. For the next three years the Club elected me to that position. In the following three years the Presidential Chair was occupied by one of the Masters, Mr. B. P. Lascelles, so widely known as "Lascelles of Magdalen," and for the remaining period up to the beginning of the war, when the Club was suspended, by one of our most public-spirited citizens, Mr. Samuel Gardner, the brother of Professor Ernest and Professor Percy Gardner.

At the early meetings, in the absence of the President, I took the chair. The contrast between a company of Irishmen and a company of Englishmen sitting down to a night's discussion was most interesting. In our Dublin Club of the same type there was always an overflow of conversation, and sometimes we did not break up until one or two in the morning. The first four or five meetings at Harrow were a great problem. No one would talk freely before his neighbours on any subject. It reminded me of a Methodist experience meeting when the leader of the meeting finds things "hard," and has to keep on pleading with "Brother So and So" to say a word or two. With difficulty we kept up the discussions to fifty or fifty-five minutes, when I adjourned the meeting. Later on this was changed, and members threw aside their reserve as they began to know one another intimately, and the meeting, which began formally at a quarter to nine, being prefaced with half an hour's conversation with tea, coffee and cigarettes, lasted until half-past ten to half-past eleven, according to the interest of the subject and the vigour of the discussions.

It was essentially a conversational club in that no one rose to speak, but it was a debate in that all remarks were addressed to the Chair, and cross conversations were not allowed.

I must pay my tribute to another late member, the Rev. Thomas Handcock, affectionately called "Father Tom." He never held a living because he would not accept any living unless he was elected by the parishioners. He had the greatest sympathy with the working classes and an absolute dread of the smug conventionalism of ordinary society. He told me with great joy that he had once been invited by a lady, well known at that time in Harrow, to attend a Bible class at her house. She was an exceedingly clever speaker, and gave an address typical of a certain type of evangelicalism on the children of Israel in Egypt. She dwelt upon Moses leading them out of the house of bondage as a type of our Lord. Sitting next to Father Tom was a lady in pronounced evening dress, who turned to him in the middle of their hostess's remarks and said: "Isn't it delightful to hear the gospel under such circumstances?" "I thought," said Father Tom, "she should hear the gospel for once, and so when I was asked to speak I said: 'The book of Exodus is interesting to me because in it we find recorded the first workings of the two great forces which have since been contending with other two forces in the world's history. In the story of Moses and the taskmasters of Egypt we have the first uprising of labour against capital. In the deliverance of the Children of Israel from the domination of the Pharaohs we have the first successful revolt in history of nationality against imperialism.'"

His contributions to our Club discussions were no less original. In a discussion on the extension of the tramways at Harrow, against an overwhelming majority of the members of the Club, he said, referring to the well-known daughter of one of our members: "Which is it better to see—a young woman driving a great wagonette along our High Street, and taking up the whole of the street, or to see a beautiful tramcar full of honest, working men coming back from their toil?"

My friendship with him was the more remarkable because I represented two causes which he abominated—nonconformity and total abstinence. His ideal for Harrow was that the Vicar and the Head Master and he should sit on the green in front of the King's Head with tankards of beer in front of them and long clay pipes in their hands, whilst they gathered the parishioners round them for conversation. He shared Chesterton's belief in the essential harmony between Catholicism, democracy, and beer.

He had given a year of his life to study each year of the Commonwealth. When Cromwell's tercentenary was celebrated he was infuriated at what perhaps he had a right to consider the comparative ignorance of the Nonconformist preachers, who had been going about the country addressing meetings—from speaking at one of which I had just returned—when they knew nothing about Oliver Cromwell.

No reference to the Club would be justified without paying a tribute to Monsignor Dunn's successor, Father Lionel Goodrich, a Roman priest whose family were members of the English Church, but who himself had entered the Church of Rome and joined the priesthood. He was a man of rare culture and the highest literary gifts, and at the same time was a very keen politician with strong sympathies with the working classes. In the earlier years of the Club's history, when the Liberals were in opposition, he, the American citizen, Sir Jesse Herbert and myself, were able to put up some defence for our principles against the overwhelming majority of the Club. When, however, the Liberals came into power, he was so much annoyed with their conduct on the Education question, in which matter he was in favour of "Right of Entry," that he gradually drifted towards the Socialist party. Sir Jesse Herbert ceased to attend the Club, Mr. Thatcher Clark was not often there, and I frequently found myself in the difficult position of being the only supporter of the Government.

The members did not by any means depend entirely upon their own talent for conversation. When it was possible, they brought friends from outside. Lord Lytton opened a discussion on the question of the disinterested management of public-houses, and Sir John Gorst on measures necessary for the care of children, both questions that are of increasing importance as this war draws to its close.

Mr. Percy Molteno, M.P., also came on my invitation in the early days of the Club's history to speak on the Boer War. It was a perilous experiment, for the Boer War was then raging, and if it had been known in Harrow that Mr. Molteno was at the Club we might have had our windows broken. No such calamity occurred, and it was good to discover that even upon questions on which men felt so warmly as the Boer War in those days, the Club could spend an amicable evening.

Mr. Spencer Wilkinson, who is now Professor of Military History to the University of Oxford and whose acquaintance I had made at the Dublin Contemporary Club, came down several times to Harrow and spoke to us on military questions with a great deal of ability. The Club, however, was always in danger of thinking when he had finished that every War Minister, up to and including Mr. Haldane, had been a dead and dismal failure, and that there was only one man in

England who understood military questions, and that was the Club's visitor.

I give an outline of the Club and its rules, because since it was founded it has had a unifying influence upon social life in Harrow, the value of which is recognised by all who have taken part in its discussions.

The effect has not been confined to Harrow. A visitor from Northwood came over to two or three of our discussions, and was so much impressed by the utility of the Club that he decided to start a similar Club at Northwood, which has also been very successful.

After the Club had been in existence a few years Bishop Welldon came back from India, and we invited him to be our guest at a dinner of the Club and to meet him one of his most famous pupils, Mr. Winston Churchill, and Mr. Percy Molteno. When the secretary sent the proof of the toast list and the plan of the tables to Mr. Winston Churchill he received a sharp letter back to say: "You have put me next to that notorious pro-Boer, Mr. Percy Molteno. Unless you reprint your plan I shall not come down." The plan was reprinted. He came, and a year or two later found himself sitting in Parliament on the same benches with Mr. Percy Molteno.

I did not meet Mr. Churchill again for some years, but one afternoon I was calling at 10, Downing Street when Mr. and Mrs. Churchill came into the room. Mr. Asquith said: "Do you know Mr. Churchill?" "Oh, yes," I said, "we know Mr. Churchill very well at Harrow." I then repeated to Mr. Churchill two stories which had been told to me by one of the Harrow Masters. The Master in question one day gave Mr. Churchill a punishment, and Mr. Churchill went to Mr. Welldon in great anger and said: "Mr. X. cannot teach me science. I insist on having another Master, and I will pay him myself." "Yes," said Mr. Churchill, "and I had another Master afterwards." The other story was as follows: A boy, remarkable for his stupidity, one day brought up an essay to his master on poetry. The essay began, "Poetry is the gilt on the gingerbread of life." "Where did you get that from?" asked the Master. "Please, sir, Churchill dictated it to me," was the answer. "Well," said Mr. Churchill, "I have never said anything half so good as that since."

Mr. Lloyd George, in the days when he and Mr. Churchill were about equally anathema to all good Conservatives, came to lunch one day at 10, Downing Street, at the time when the threepenny tax for servants' pensions agitated great dames more than a five-shilling income tax does to-day. I was standing on the hearth-rug talking to Mrs. Asquith and Lady Dorothy Nevill when Mr. Lloyd George came into the room. Mrs. Asquith stepped forward and shook hands with him and returned to us.

"What do you mean by inviting me to meet that man?" said the little Tory lady, whose chronicles of the last half-century are so amusing.

"You would not mind, my dear," replied Mrs. Asquith, "if I invited you to meet the devil."

"Certainly not," retorted Lady Dorothy; "certainly not, that would be quite another matter."

Harrow School during my period has had some fine men amongst its Masters. After the Boer War was over it was decided to build a new wing to the school chapel, and in consequence the Sunday evening services were held in the speech room. This furnished an occasion, as I have mentioned in the first chapter of this book, for revealing the gifts as lay preachers of certain of the Harrow Masters which would otherwise have lain dormant under the rigid system of the Church of England. As the services were being held in an unconsecrated place, it was found possible to extend the list of chapel preachers.

There were at that time only four clergymen amongst the Masters, the Head Master, my dear friend the Rev. Everard Owen, who was one of the most thoughtful and delightful preachers it has ever been my privilege to listen to, the Rev. W. Done Bushell, who has long since retired from the school, and the Rev. J. W. Coke-Norris, one of the junior Masters.

When, however, the possibility of securing sermons from laymen came above the horizon, a series of the most admirable sermons were preached by the following laymen: Sir Arthur Hort, son of the great Dr. Hort, one of the illustrious trio, Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort; Mr. Howson, the son of Dean Howson, who, with Mr. Conybeare, wrote the well-known "Life of St. Paul"; and Mr. Somervell.

It is no reflection upon the clerical Masters to say that the school was a great gainer by some of the remarkable sermons which were given by these men. I may specially mention a volume of sermons by Mr. Howson which was published when, to the school's irreparable loss, he had died in the prime of life.

It has been, and is still, a complete mystery to me why the Church of England limits her list of fully licensed lay preachers in the diocese of London to so few men, and why she does not enlist all over the country the services of cultured laymen of deep religious feeling, combined with the gift of preaching. There were several other friends of mine in Harrow who, if they had been Methodists, would have been lay preachers, and would have served the church and the parish in a most effective manner, but who, because of the rigidity of the Church of England on this question, have never had an opportunity of using their natural gifts.

In view of the recent criticism of public schools, I should like to say, after a residence of seventeen years in Harrow before the war, that I have never met a body of men in any profession who, taken as a whole, worked harder and were more wrapped up in their high vocation than the Harrow Masters, whom I have had the honour of numbering amongst my personal friends. One can speak more easily of those who are gone, and unhappily Harrow has lost prematurely—i.e. before the age of sixty when Harrow Masters retire—

many excellent men since I went to live there. Colbeck, Howson, Welsford, and Townsend Warner were all men of great force of character and individuality, who could ill be spared when they were taken from us. The last named was the last to die, and my relations with him were perhaps the most intimate. I owe a great debt to him for the training in literary expression which he gave to my sons, much of it done purely voluntarily and outside of his school duties.

The vexed question of home boarders versus boarders is one upon which diverse opinions will always be held. Although I yielded to my friend Owen's desire that my son Arnold should go into his house with a view to becoming the head—which he ultimately did—I am still of opinion that the finest education any man can hope for his son to enjoy is for the son to live at home in Harrow and go to Harrow School—or to a school like Westminster, where my son Brian was a King's Scholar—as a home boarder.

Considerable interest has been aroused during the last few years by the publication of two realistic studies of public school life at Harrow and Sherborne respectively. The accuracy of these novels has been questioned by certain critics. I am afraid that, with my very wide and intimate knowledge of many masters and old boys of many different public schools, I cannot agree with the critics. My hope for this type of education is that in the new world after the war some means may be found for eradicating some of the evils which have been depicted in these works with photographic accuracy.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE HOLY COMMUNION AND CONFIRMATION (1910)

John Wesley's "Companion for the Altar" and Hymns on the Lord's Supper—The "Plan of Pacification"—Wesley's Teaching on Constant Communion—Infrequency of Holy Communion in the 18th Century—Effect of the Methodist Revival—Calvin's Teaching.

The Word was made Flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His Glory.—ST. JOHN.

Come! break thy fast, dear heart,
Poor wearied one. . . .
For Earth's long Lent is done;
The Easter of thy soul hath dawned at last.
Come! at Love's mystic altar
Break thy fast.

—EVELYN UNDERHILL.

A miserable individualism in our thoughts of Holy Communion has taken the place of the rich and moving thought which in ancient days was prominent, that through fellowship in the perfect sacrifice of the Son of Man we ourselves become that sacrifice.—GORE, "The Body of Christ."

IN this chapter I desire to trace those influences which have led me to an increasing sense of the supreme importance of the sacramental element of life, and especially of its place in the development of the spiritual life.

The Mission, conducted at Horncastle in 1876 or thereabouts by Canon Bullock and Mr. Donald Claughton when I was a boy of seventeen, was a landmark in my life. Then for the first time I began to understand what the "Eucharistic Feast," to use Charles Wesley's phrase, was intended to be to the believer, and, as stated in an earlier chapter, I asked permission to attend the final communion service of the Mission.

My father in his early days had caught the later echoes of Wesley's teaching, and during my boyhood would go to some country village church, Low Toynton or our own church at West Ashby or Edlington, where the evangelical vicars were friends of his, and there communicate. My father's action in this matter, which furnished an example to his family, was entirely in harmony with the views and teaching of John Wesley and his successors during several decades after his death.

As we shall see, there was nothing out of harmony with the teaching and practice of early Methodism—the Methodism of John Wesley and those who carried on his work for many decades—in the wish that I had expressed as a boy of seventeen. But to me, not knowing the foundation principles of Methodism, the teaching by Canon Bullock and Mr. Claughton (influenced as they were by the second Oxford movement, in so many ways the child of the early Methodist revival) came as a new revelation. I longed for the help of weekly communions, and at the close of the Mission consulted Canon Bullock on the matter.

When I became a student in the Divinity School of Trinity College, Dublin, it was the rule that all students who did not declare themselves "Protestant Dissenters" should communicate three times annually. Methodists are Protestants, but they are certainly not Dissenters, and I obeyed the rule, and indeed went frequently to Holy Communion in the College chapel. My wife's father, Canon Moore, always welcomed me as a communicant at his church.

It was not until after my return from India at Christmas, 1890, that I again realised the importance in the minds of some Churchmen of the rubric in the Prayer-Book which decides who shall be admitted to the Holy Communion in the English Church.

"And there shall none be admitted to the Holy Communion, until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready to be confirmed." No Methodist can complain of this rule, for it is definitely laid down in our constitution that admission to this service shall be restricted as follows: "No person shall be suffered on any pretence to partake of the Lord's Supper among us unless he be a member of Society, or receive a note of admission from the superintendent (or from the preacher administering), which note must be renewed quarterly.

"It is most important that a united and earnest attempt should be made to secure the presence of all our members, and the showing of tickets at the Lord's Supper."[1]

A similar rule exists in the Presbyterian churches of Scotland, and I myself some years since, when spending a Sunday at Banff, where the old customs have survived, was relegated to the gallery with the children whilst the Communion Service was celebrated according to the Presbyterian order.

Nevertheless, in the English Church the Bishop of the diocese can and does relax certain rubrics in cases where he thinks it advisable to do so. I have recorded already Dr. Temple's reply as Bishop of London to the suggestion of the Reverend Luke Paget, Vicar of St. Pancras, now Bishop of Stepney, that I should be admitted to Holy Communion on Christmas Day, 1890. On the same occasion Bishop Temple quite strongly approved of the first Grindelwald Communion. A little later, on my journey to Florence with Archbishop Benson, the Primate expressed his approval of Bishop Perowne's action in administering the communion to all the members of the Grindelwald Conference. Bishop Mandell Creighton, who succeeded Bishop Temple in the See of London, had sanctioned my attending this service at the parish church of Harrow, where I reside. But there seemed to me, on very careful consideration, to be a breach of Christian courtesy in the action of one who, not merely occasionally but regularly, availed himself of this special means of grace in violation of one of the rubrics of the Church.

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[1] Minutes of the Conference, 1796, vol. I., p. 365; 1869, vol. XVII., p. 62; 1889, p. 412.

During the last half of 1909, and the early months of 1910, the strain had been very heavy. My eldest son Arnold had broken his leg in a climbing accident on Cadr Idris at the end of August, and lay at home for months in great suffering. I was obliged to leave him for hurried visits to Boston, where I was contesting the seat at the General Election, and the pressure of life drove me on most Fridays to special discipline and the help of the Holy Communion at St. Pancras, which I could just reach from Harrow at 8 a.m. How much those early services, and others of a like kind in other places and other lands, have meant to me no words of mine can adequately express. Often the communicants were few in number, but this fact made possible a more complete abstraction from all thoughts save the central thought of the hour, that Christ was here present, breaking the bread and giving His broken body to me, pouring out the cup and giving me His life's blood for the remission of my sins; that as He was broken on the cross as the crowning act of a life of obedience, so here He summoned His followers to a like absolute surrender of self to Him.

At these moments I felt that "the minister is no more prophet but priest. His effectiveness is not prophetic but priestly. He is the organ of the common priesthood of the church . . . he should have his back to the people because he is the mouthpiece of the people, of their sins, confessions, and praise, all of which he shares. He was receiving with us all the great gift of the broken body and the shed blood from our Redeemer, who thus gave Himself and His saving act anew to us as we give ourselves anew to Him in responsive faith."[1]

In February, 1916, this Great War touched me most closely whilst I waited for weary weeks to know what the word "missing" meant when referring to my second son Hugh, later announced as a prisoner. Just at that date grave telegrams from the East informed me with inevitable but painful brevity that my third son Brian was coming home from the Tigris to spend weary months in a hospital on the banks of the Thames. I understood in my early attendances at the Communion Service the meaning of St. Paul's words: "For whom I have suffered the loss of all things . . . that I may know Him and the power of His resurrection, and the fellowship of His suffering." At such moments minister, priest, celebrant were one with me, and Christ Himself was present indeed, saying again as He said in that upper room: "This is My body broken . . . this is My blood shed."

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[1] "The Church and the Sacraments," p. 220, by Dr. Forsyth, Principal of Hackney Congregational College, Hampstead, and Dean of the Faculty of Theology in the University of London.

As the years passed by the Holy Communion had clearly come to mean more and more in my life. I had arrived definitely at the position of Dr. Forsyth, who in his preface to his work, "The Church and the Sacraments," says: "As to the Sacraments, it may be surmised that the writer holds a mere memorialism to be a more fatal error than the Mass, and a far less lovely." He expressed my experience at this early service when he said: "In so doing I have done more than on any busiest day of the week. I have yielded myself to take part with the Church in Christ's finished work of redemption, which is greater than the making of the world."[1] And again: "The Sacrament is an act of obedience, but obedience to Christ, not to a precept of His or to an institution."[2]

During the first ten years of the century my personal relations with the Church of England had been complicated by my arrangements with the Society for the Promotion of the Gospel and the Colonial and Continental Church Society, who usually appoint chaplains on the continent, and I arranged with them to give me the definite right of nomination in the winter for certain resorts in Switzerland which I was in the habit of visiting, and at one or two resorts in the summer. In 1910 I was nominating about thirty chaplains for appointment by these societies. When staying in Switzerland with my family I had either to explain fully my position or to risk hurting the susceptibilities of the chaplains I had nominated if I presented myself as a communicant.

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[1] Dr. Forsyth: "The Church and the Sacraments," p. 220.

[2] Cit. loc., p. 219.

I had long held that confirmation has its proper place in the life of the Church. The Lutheran and Evangelical Churches have both retained it, and I know personally how highly Swiss and Scandinavian friends of mine have valued it. The tremendous leakage between the Sunday School and adult memberships in Wesleyan Methodism would be greatly lessened if each superintendent were to prepare for confirmation the young people of his congregations with the same assiduous care that has marked the preparation of friends of my own by Swedish and Swiss pastors.

I therefore wrote to my friend Bishop Paget of Stepney, formerly vicar of St. Pancras, and told him that I should like to consult him on the matter, and he invited me to stay with him on the night of June 6th, 1910. We had a long conversation, in the course of which he said that as I regularly communicated in the Church of England it would be a relief to my friends in that communion if I followed the rubric governing attendance at the service. I accordingly wrote the next day to the Bishop of London summarising the facts that I have already given, and saying that I did not wish to sever my connection with Methodism or to give up my work as a Methodist lay preacher, but desired to be privately confirmed for the reasons given. The Bishop kindly consented, and I was confirmed on July 8th, 1910.

This was a most unusual action for a Methodist layman holding the offices which I hold and have held in Methodism. It is probably an isolated instance in the twentieth century, but endless analogies can be found for such action a hundred years earlier, and the action I took was entirely in harmony with the principles John Wesley laid down, and adhering to which he lived and died.

Although there is to-day a strong revival in Methodism of a desire for a realisation of the rightful place of the sacraments in the life of the Church, this element had largely passed out of Methodism in the later Victorian period. In those days Methodism had to a great extent lost the note of exultant joy in the thought of the Real Presence of her Lord at the communion table, where His Love is celebrated. This note is clearly heard in John Wesley's "Companion for the Altar," which was used regularly about the year 1820 by the members of Society at Great Queen Street Chapel, the Methodist West End Cathedral, as is indicated in existing copies purchased for the whole congregation at that date. In that little volume Wesley boldly used the words of Thomas à Kempis, where he says: "How sweetly and graciously dost Thou dispose of all things with those to whom Thou offerest Thyself in this holy sacrament." And again later on, the joy which characterised early Methodism finds expression in these exultant words: "O happy mind and blessed soul, that receives Thee, her Lord God, with devout affection and in receiving of Thee is filled with spiritual joy."

The "Hymns on the Lord's Supper," published by the Wesley brothers in many editions and used widely in those early days when the joy of Methodism in her Lord was winning thousands from the misery of conscious sin, sound the same glad note.

"All faithful hearts with us prepare,
And eat the Paschal Lamb.

. . . . .

"This Eucharistic Feast
Our every want supplies,
And still we by His death are blest
And share His sacrifice."

The gladness of the Wesley brothers, which inspired their preaching in an age which had learned to frown upon all enthusiasm, finds expression in the lines from the same little volume quoted by Bishop Gore in his "Faith of a Christian":

"Angels in fixed amazement
Around our altars hover,
With eager gaze
Adore the grace
Of our eternal Lover

"Himself and all His fullness
Who gives to the believer;
And by this bread
Whoe'er are fed
Shall live with God for ever."

The "Plan of Pacification," which appears in the Minutes of the Methodist Conference held at Manchester in 1795, signed by Joseph Bradford, President, and Thomas Coke, Secretary, two greatly revered names, was drawn up largely to deal with the controversies that had arisen immediately after Wesley's death on the whole question of the Lord's Supper. "A complete and happy union . . . contrary to the fears of many" was reached on a basis that included the conditions that "The Lord's Supper shall never be administered on those Sundays on which it is administered in the parochial church."

More than twenty years later the Rev. James Macdonald, grandfather of the Rev. F. W. Macdonald, a distinguished ex-President, wrote to his son, then at Cambridge, under the date December 14th, 1818, and urged him to be "an orthodox Churchman, neither Calvinistic nor Arminian." In the same letter he describes a sermon he had preached in which he claimed, evidently regarding himself as a Churchman, that we owe our civil and religious liberty to the Established Church.

It was only very gradually that Methodism was driven, by the intolerance of the Clergy, towards the Dissenters, and it was not until as late as 1882 that the Conference ventured to omit the "Manual rubrics" in the Anglican Order for the administration of the Holy Communion, which has always been used in Methodism. It is remarkable that whilst the rubrics were then entirely altered the only serious change in the text was the omission of the following beautiful alternative to the first of the two prayers in the English Book of Common Prayer, after the administration of the Sacraments: "Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank Thee, for that Thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; and dost assure us thereby of Thy favour and goodness towards us, and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of Thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people, and are also heirs through hope of Thy everlasting Kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of Thy dear Son. And we most humbly beseech Thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with Thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as Thou hast prepared for us to walk in; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen."

It was strange to omit this prayer, containing as it does the essence of John Wesley's teaching on the Eucharist, and asserting the Churchmanship of all "who have duly received these holy mysteries, and are thereby assured that they are members incorporate in the mystical body of the Lord, which is *the blessed company of all faithful people*." It passes understanding to know why these Fathers of Methodism should have blotted out the title-deeds of such a heritage for their children. There was, however, one saving clause in the Minutes of the Conference of 1882 on that question: "The Conference does not prohibit the use of any forms which have hitherto been approved by the Conference."

As the Holy Communion became the central act of my religious life, I realised that I was all the time drawing nearer to the teaching of John Wesley, who published his views in his sermon No. CI. on "The Duty of Constant Communion," and affixed to the sermon this special note: "The following discourse was written about five-and-fifty years ago for the use of my pupils at Oxford. I have added very little, but retrenched much, as I then used more words than I do now. But I thank God I have not yet seen cause to alter my sentiments in any point which is therein delivered."[1]

In this sermon, which was from the text, "Do this in remembrance of Me," he says:

"I shall show that it is the duty of any Christian to receive the Lord's Supper as often as he can. . . . Because it is a plain command of Christ . . . because the benefits of so doing are so great to all that do it in obedience to Him. . . . Let everyone, therefore, who has any desire to please God or any love of his own soul, obey God and consult the good of his own soul by communicating every time he can, like the first Christians to whom the Christian sacrifice was a constant part of the Lord's Day service. And for several centuries they received it almost every day."

Dealing with the question that the Church only enjoined it three times a year, he said that the rubric said, "At least three times in the year," but added, in his own courageous fashion, "To this I answer, first, that if the Church had not enjoined it at all, is it not enough that God enjoins it? We obey the Church only for God's sake." He went on to say, "We cannot conclude from these words that the Church excuses those who only receive thrice a year. The plain sense of them is that he who does not receive three times a year shall be cast out of the Church, but they by no means excuse him who communicates no oftener. This never was the judgment of the Church; on the contrary, she takes all possible care that the sacrament be duly administered wherever the common prayer is read every Sunday and holiday in the year."

No student of the Church history of the eighteenth century can deny that Wesley and his colleagues did much to bring back the Church of England to a due regard for the importance of Holy Communion. At the commencement of the Methodist revival "one of the worst features of all was the infrequency of Holy Communion."[1]

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[1] "Wesley's Works," vol. vii., p. 147.

"In 1741, we find Bishop Secker admonishing the clergy in the diocese of Oxford that they were bound to administer thrice in the year, that there ought to be an administration in the long interval between Whitsuntide and Christmas. . . . Of course there were many protests against the prevalent disregard of the central Christian ordinance. Thus both Wesley, from a High Church point of view, and the Broad Church author of the 'Free and Candid Disquisition' urged the propriety of weekly celebrations. . . . Previous to this, when the Methodist organisation became unhappily separated from the National Church, the sermons of Wesley and his preachers were sometimes followed by a large accession of communicants at the Parish Church."[2]

Whitefield, who was the founder of the Calvinistic Methodist Communion in 1738, had 300 communicants in a Manchester church, and in 1748 1,000. These were churches served by regular incumbents and not by Whitefield himself. Whitefield writes on October 11th, 1750, describing life at Lady Huntingdon's, "We have the sacrament every morning, heavenly consolation all day, and preaching at night." John Wesley records for the twelve days from Christmas ending on January 6th, 1774, "During the twelve festival days we had the Lord's Supper daily; a little emblem of the Primitive Church. May we be followers of them in all things as they were of Christ."

The political antagonism of the Hanoverian Bishops to the Non-Jurors, and to the Jacobites who took the oath of allegiance but remained in their sympathies Stuart and High Church, had a great influence in the Church of England in the eighteenth century. It furnished a striking illustration of the evils which identify the National Church with a certain ruling caste. Because it was anti-Laudian and apparently for very little other reason the Hanoverian Bishops had deliberately discarded frequent communion. How strongly these political Hanoverian prejudices were roused against the frequent communion of the Methodists is shown by Charles Wesley's bitter complaint, "Every Sunday damnation is denounced against us for we are Papists, Jesuits, Seducers and bringers-in in aid of the Pretender."[1]

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[1] "The Church in the Eighteenth Century," Overton and Relton.

[2] "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century," Abbey and Overton.

A correspondent of John Byron gives the following sarcastic account of the utterances of Bishop Peploe at Manchester: "The weekly communion is likewise a great and grievous innovation, and a heavy charge upon the parishioners. No matter for primitive practice and ancient canons. They are all Popish. The Church of England enjoins her members to receive but once a year."

We see, therefore, that Wesley and Whitefield, representing the Arminian and the Calvinistic schools of Methodism, both cultivated regular communion. It was only gradually that the influence of the old Dissenters made itself felt upon Wesleyan Methodism, especially in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Somewhat earlier than this, great chapels were built in Leeds and elsewhere, which were called "Brunswick" or Hanover to assert the loyalty of the worshippers to their Hanoverian rulers. This was done to avoid any fear of misunderstanding by good Congregationalists or Baptists. To call their chapels after the Trinity, or the Blessed Virgin, or one of the Apostles, might have exposed them to the suspicion of Popery or Jacobitism.

Notwithstanding this tendency to approximate to the Dissenters, the Conference from time to time in the whole of its history has affirmed the desirability of frequent communion. The last such resolution was passed by the Conference in 1916.

Wesley's teaching, following closely, in all but the question of orders, the teaching of Laud, was inevitably opposed to the teaching of the Hanoverian Bishops, who regarded it as likely to help the cause of the Pretenders. These political influences in England and the angry feeling engendered in Scotland by the attempt of the High Church party to establish Episcopacy in that country, separated widely not only the Church of England but also the Church of Scotland and the Dissenters from the teaching both of Luther and Calvin. All the world knows Luther's insistence upon the words, "Hoc est corpus meum," but few modern Presbyterians or Dissenters who imagine themselves to have inherited Calvin's theology realise how far they have travelled from Calvin's teaching on the Eucharist. He would have been astonished at the teaching concerning this sacrament of those who have imagined themselves his followers.

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[1] Overton's "Evangelical Revival," p. 175.

Let Calvin speak for himself:

"The other Sacrament given and instituted to the Christian Church is the bread sanctified to the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the wine sanctified in His blood, as the ancients were accustomed to speak. And we call it either the Lord's Supper or Eucharist because herein we are spiritually fed and nourished by the kindness of our Lord, and on our part we render Him thanks for His goodness. The promise which is given us herein shows clearly to what end it has been instituted and to what it tends. It is to assure us and confirm to us that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ has been in such wise given once for us that it is now ours, and will be perpetually. Also that His blood has been in such wise shed for us that it is and will be always our own.

"Our souls may take and gather from this sacrament great sweetness and fruit of consolation because we recognise Jesus Christ to be so incorporated in us and we also in Him that all that is His we may call ours, and all that is ours we may call His.

"All these things are so fully promised by God in this

Sacrament that we must be certain and assured that they are demonstrated to us as truly as if Jesus Christ were visibly present to our eyes and sensibly to our touch. For this word cannot fail or lie. 'Take, eat and drink; this is My Body which was given for you. This is My Blood which is shed for the remission of your sins.' By commanding us to take, He signifies that He is ours. By commanding us to eat and drink, He shows that He has made Himself one substance with us.

"And the Body and Blood of Christ are represented under bread and wine, to teach us that not only are they ours, but they are ours for life and nourishment.

"As we have said before, it is by the material things put before us in the Sacrament that we are to be led to spiritual things. So when we see the bread placed before us as a sign and Sacrament of the Body of Jesus Christ we must immediately take in the similitude that just as bread nourishes, strengthens, and preserves the life of our body, so the Body of Jesus Christ is the meat, the food, and preservation of our spiritual life.

"And when we see the wine offered to us as a symbol of His Blood, we must think of what wine does for the human body in order to realise that the blood of Jesus Christ is of a similar profit to us. It strengthens, comforts, recreates and cheers.

"If this virtue of the Sacrament had been sought and considered as it should be, it should have been enough for us, and those horrible contentions by which the Church has suffered so much would not have been raised."[1]

It would carry no conviction to my Methodist readers to quote at length from the early Fathers of the Church whose teaching Wesley accepted, and whose writings he translated and published. When, however, the teaching of St. Paul is accepted by the Fathers of the Church in a certain sense and that sense not denied by the leaders of the Reformation, Calvin and Luther, and is confirmed by Methodist formularies so often, it would be a matter for wonder that our Methodist practice should have so far departed from the wishes and convictions of the founder of our communion if it were not that this is what so constantly happens in all religious movements.

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[1] This passage is translated from Chapter XII., "De la Cène" (Of the Lord's Supper), taken from Calvin's work, "Institution de la Religion Chrétienne," reprinted in 1911 from the edition of 1541.

CHAPTER XIX

WHY I REMAIN A METHODIST

The Real Glory of Methodism—The Fellowship of Methodism—Methodist Lay Preachers—Wesley's Repudiation of the Dogma of Apostolical Succession—Letter to the Bishop of London—Cardinal Vaughan and the Roman Priest—The Cable and Wireless Telegraphy—Apostolical Succession and Divine Right of Kings—Different Methods of Ordination—The Methodist Brotherhood—The True Catholicity of Methodism.

> Methodism is Christianity in earnest.—CHALMERS.
> The friends of all, the enemies of none.—JOHN WESLEY.

MY friends in the Church of England may say as they read the last chapter, "Why did you not leave Methodism entirely in these circumstances?" Those who ask this question cannot be blamed if they judge Methodism by the assertiveness which manifests itself in the aggressive utterances of certain of its sons on some public occasions. Those most devoted to Methodism, as they look back on the twelve years' decline in numbers which have been reported at the successive Annual Conferences up to 1918, must regard with grave misgiving many of the utterances which marked the inception, carrying through, and completion of the Centenary Million Guinea Fund. The challenge to the Church of England which characterised some of the speeches of that period lacked the spirit of John Wesley. His passionate love for the world stopped at no boundary but ever sought an outlet.

"Such boasting as the Gentiles use
Or lesser breeds without the law,"

do not and never have represented the real strength of Methodism. When Rudyard Kipling, the grandson of two Methodist ministers, wrote those lines in his great poem, "The Recessional," it is related that he sent the poem to his uncle, the Rev. F. W. Macdonald, President of the Conference, and said in the accompanying letter, "You see the Methodist blood will out."

Those two lines,

Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget,

are nearer to the spirit of the dying Wesley than were the speeches referred to. To the mourners who gathered round John Wesley as he lay dying after that wonderful life of eighty-eight years, he said, "The Lord buries His workmen but He carries on His work," and again, almost with his last breath, "The best of all is, God is with us."

The first reason which explains my fidelity to the communion in which I was born lies in the fact that the real glory of Methodism is not found in the columns of the daily Press, but is written in books not made with hands. It consists in that fellowship of lowly souls, "Not many great, not many mighty, not many rich in this world's goods," of whom the world knows nothing, and will know nothing "until the books are opened." "These all died in faith," in a fellowship inspired by their common consciousness that the Spirit of God bore witness with their spirit that they were the sons of God. In their lives they quietly and unostentatiously bore testimony to the truths which inspire the prayer:

"O Almighty God, who hast knit together thine elect in one communion and fellowship, in the mystical body of Thy Son Christ our Lord; grant us grace so to follow Thy blessed saints in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys which Thou hast prepared for them that unfeignedly love Thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Those who have grown up in village Methodism know its spiritual power in transforming the lives of lowly toilers who, apart from its gracious influence, would have known no ideals other than those of the village alehouse and the stable, but whose record is one long idyll of love for the Lord Whom they serve. In the experience meetings of these little societies men and women tell with a quiet gladness of what God has done for them. It is possible to recall many a face in such gatherings which shone like that of "one of old,"

> Around the flame about a sacrifice
> Kindled by fire from heaven, so glad was he.

It is the River of Life flowing from our Methodist village homes that helps to preserve from corruption the life of our towns and cities. From this source come and have come many of the best leaders of the people. The lay preachers of Methodism represent the greatest work by unpaid lay agency in the history of Christianity since Paul the Tentmaker. Every Sunday morning from hundreds of circuit towns there go forth thousands of men who on Saturday were at the plough, in the workshop, behind the counter, in the office, to preach faithfully the truth as it has been illumined by their own experience. Many of them walk three, four, five, or six miles to the little villages where the superintendent minister has appointed them to preach. Of no men in the long centuries of the Christian era has it been more true than of these unsalaried prophets as they traverse the Wolds of Lincolnshire, the Peak of Derbyshire, the hills of Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmorland: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings." When Wesley was persuaded by his mother—that great woman Susanna Wesley—to allow his first lay preacher, Thomas Maxwell, to proclaim his message, little did he realise that Maxwell was to be the first of a long line of faithful lay preachers numbering, before the close of the next century, tens of thousands in England and America.

These are only some aspects of the great spiritual movement which has made its mark on history as "The Methodist Revival." No one can understand its essential characteristics and fail to believe that if Methodism will but be true to itself it has yet a great work to do for God in the world. In that ultimate union of all who love our Lord, for which He prayed in the great Intercessory prayer, there is room alike for the early passion of Methodism, and for certain parts of its marvellous organisation. The faithful men who form the rank and file of the Methodist lay preachers would furnish much-needed allies to those who fight against sin in the depleted ranks of the Anglican clergy, and as preachers and teachers they would be highly esteemed if joined in federal union with the Church with whose great theological writers they are conversant.

A second and more vital reason for my remaining a Methodist lay in the refusal of John Wesley to limit his conception of the Church and its boundaries by an acceptance of the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession. His biographers generally attribute his views on this vital matter to Lord Chancellor King, and Wesley makes this statement which justifies them in so doing.

On May 20th, 1846, he read Lord King's "Account of the Primitive Church." "In spite of the vehement prejudices of my education," as he puts it in his Journal, he arrived once and for all at the definite conclusion that Bishops and Presbyters were one order.

But this incident was an accident in the inevitable development of an ecclesiastic who could write the passage on "Catholicity," quoted on the first two pages of this book.

Fifteen years after reading King's book he records in his

Journal, under the date February 19th, 1761, a letter to the *London Chronicle* embodying his reply to a Roman controversialist who attacked Methodism for its lack of "a perpetual succession of Pastors and Teachers." His reply in this case, as always in such cases, follows the example of our Blessed Lord when the disciples of John came with a friendly inquiry to know whether He was the Messiah or not, "Go tell John what things ye have seen." This is Christ's answer to any who would limit the channels of sacramental grace by any theory of orders. As a matter of order, not "orders," Methodism sets apart certain men to minister in sacred things, but does not thereby accept a doctrine which would exclude from the Catholic Church those who, by faith and deed, give every evidence that they are the children of God.

"Blessed Jesus, they cannot cast me out of Thy true Church," was carved by some poor prisoner of the Inquisition into his prison walls, to be seen by none save the jailer until Rome fell in 1870. This was the attitude of John Wesley when confronted with the providential teaching of the Divine Spirit which he was ever ready to follow. Whether he had read Chancellor King's book or not, confronted by the blessings that had attended the work of his followers in the New World, he would have come to the conclusion that the channels which depended upon the Apostolical Succession were neither deep enough nor wide enough to convey sacramental blessings to the Church. He realised that the desertion of their congregations by the loyalist Anglican clergy in the time of George Washington's rebellion constituted the call of God to him to provide a sacramental ministry for America. The following letter which he wrote to the Bishop of London records in his own vigorous way the influences which brought him to this conclusion.

Under date August 10th, 1780, Wesley wrote with reference to certain members of his Society who wished their Methodist minister to be ordained by the Bishop:

"Those persons did not apply to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel because they had nothing to ask of them. They wanted no salary for their minister; they were themselves able and willing to maintain him. They therefore applied by me to your Lordship, as members of the Church of England, and desirous so to continue, begging the favour of your Lordship, after your Lordship had examined him, to ordain a pious man who might officiate as their minister.

"But your Lordship observes, 'There are three ministers in that country already.' True, my Lord, but what are these to watch over all the souls in that extensive country? Will your Lordship permit me to speak freely? I am on the verge of the grave, and know not the hour when I shall drop into it. Suppose there were three score of these missionaries in the country, could I in conscience recommend these souls to their care? Do they take any care of their own souls? If they do (I speak it with concern) I fear they are almost the only missionaries in America that do. . . .

"I do not know that Mr. Hoskins had any favour to ask of the Society. He asked the favour of your Lordship to ordain him that he might minister to a little flock in America. But your Lordship did not see good to ordain him. But your Lordship did see good to ordain and send into America other persons who knew something of Latin and Greek, but who knew no more of saving souls than of catching whales.

"In this respect also I mourn for poor America; for the sheep scattered up and down therein. Part of them have no shepherd at all, particularly in the northern colonies, and the case of the rest is little better, for their own shepherds pity them not. They cannot, for they have no pity on themselves. They take no thought or care about their own souls."[1]

Shortly after this letter had been written, Wesley, assisted by another priest of the English Church, Weightman, ordained Coke to be the founder of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America. This Church to-day is one of the most powerful communions in the Reformed Churches, numbering 41,800 clergy, 7,608,284 members and 7,218,463 Sunday scholars.

[1] Wesley's Works, vol. XIII., p. 142.

In our own theological training too little attention had been given to any clear teaching on "The Church" and "The Ministry," but the years have taught me that the real succession was not *only* that of a narrow line which might be severed, but also the succession of the Living Church as defined in the prayer of thanksgiving to which I have already referred as "The mystical body of Thy Son which is the company of all faithful people." The Roman theory makes the blessings of the Sacrament and the life of the Church depend upon a line which may be broken at any point. This attitude was made vividly apparent to me in the following incident, which was told to me by a well-known ex-priest. At a certain point in his career he was carrying on a Roman mission in London, assisted by a peeress and her family. One day he had a visit from his old nurse, who confessed to him that when she ought to have presented him for baptism she presented her own illegitimate child, and the priest was never baptised. On being told this he went to see Cardinal Vaughan. He told Cardinal Vaughan of the facts, and the Cardinal said to him at once: "Well, we will put this matter right now. I will christen you, confirm you, and ordain you."

"Then," said my informant, "you do not regard me as an ordained priest at the present moment?"

"Certainly not," said Cardinal Vaughan.

"Then," said he, "if I am not a priest, I am free from my vows."

The Cardinal assented, whereupon he said: "Then I shall bid you farewell."

He went back to his friends in the mission and told them what had happened, and they, with him, left the Church of Rome and carried on their work outside the Church.

If this had happened to the Cardinal himself and some like accident to two other Bishops in England of the Roman Church, on the Cardinal's theory—which is undoubtedly the doctrine of the Church of Rome, and the belief of a large section of the English Church—they might have consecrated a whole line of Bishops and thus handed down to following generations of their Church in these islands an invalid priesthood. To such a *reductio ad absurdum* did the Cardinal reduce this theory. The serious fact is that in this matter the Cardinal does not stand alone, and that all who accept in this restricted sense the dogma of the Apostolical Succession may be at this moment (through some breach in the line of continuity of which they are unaware) be ministered to by a ministry invalid on their theory, and recipients of sacraments which from their standpoint are no sacraments at all.

This story of the priest reminded me of the days when there was only one Atlantic cable between England and America, and that was broken. Wireless telegraphy had not yet been invented, and no messages could cross the Atlantic until the cable was repaired. Surely God does not depend entirely for the conveyance of His grace on one spiritual "cable." As the whole ether is permeated by the wireless message, so does the Divine grace find its channels in the whole Church, and not merely in one special conduit through a narrow line of prelates, to convey its blessings to the world. The company of faithful people rejoicing in the universal priesthood of believers recognises in certain men the call of God to the ministry, and delegates to that order certain spiritual functions to be discharged on behalf of all members.

The ecclesiastical dogma of Apostolical Succession finds its counterpart in the political doctrine of Divine Right. A friend of mine, some years before the war, held these two allied doctrines strongly, and was at once a High Churchwoman and Honorary Secretary of the Legitimist Society of the White Rose, which recognises that Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria is the rightful heir to the British throne.

When the Convention Parliament of 1689 declared that William and Mary were King and Queen of England, they did more than recognise a successful rebellion against Stuart tyranny: they affirmed for all time that the true title of any monarch to the throne comes from the people through the voice of Parliament. It was no accident that made High Churchmen Jacobites for the next hundred years. They maintained in their theory of Kingship a position parallel with that which they held with respect to the ministry of the Church. To-day High Churchmen are as loyal subjects of the Crown as Presbyterians or Evangelicals. The day may come when they will realise that the call of the Divine Spirit to the ministry finds its valid confirmation in the imprimatur of the company of all faithful men, rather than in the exclusive sanction of a narrow line of prelates.

I once asked a learned Archdeacon of the Church, staying in my home, to take family prayers. "No," he replied, "every man is a priest in his own household." This fact has been recognised in many lands and by many faiths. Surely the day may come when a like recognition may be granted to non-episcopally ordained ministers who are true fathers of great spiritual families.

We may agree that Episcopacy is for the *bene esse* of the Church, and may recognise the effectiveness of episcopal government in the English Church and in the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, without committing ourselves to the position that there can be no branch of the Church unless there be an episcopate.

However good and time-honoured a custom Episcopacy may be,

God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

Popes and Cardinals may excommunicate. That is not the task of Jesus or those who would follow Him. He does not shut the door of the fold on any of His sheep. "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold" is His warning to those who would limit the possibilities of His love. And this was ever the attitude of Wesley. "Go not only to those who want you, but to those who want you not," was the parallelism in his teaching to that of our Lord when He said to the ecclesiastics of His day: "The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost."

These two men—John and Charles Wesley—understood the great Heart of Jesus, broken that a world might be saved by the breaking. This conception of the Love of Jesus makes Charles Wesley exclaim:

O for this love, let rocks and hills
Their lasting silence break,
And all harmonious human tongues
The Saviour's praises speak.

Nothing but one great song of praise from all creation could be a fitting response to the love of the Father revealed in Jesus Christ—a love shut in by no barrier, limited in none of its blessings by any frontier or boundary of nationality or ecclesiastical organisation. This is the Methodist spirit. Those who really follow John Wesley may rejoice to be in communion with the Church of England, but they can do nothing that might cut them off from communion with any who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth.

The third reason which should determine a Methodist who believes in the ultimate federation of the Christian churches—the ecclesiastical counterpart of the League of Nations—to remain in Methodism is that in the course of the years the central position in Christendom has moved more and more from Newman's early *via media,* the Church of England, to Methodism. McCabe's careful analysis of the changed position of the Roman Communion, in his book entitled "The Decay of the Church of Rome," demonstrates beyond dispute the weakened influence and diminished numbers of that Church.

During the decades in which this change has been taking place the growth of the non-episcopal communions has caused the centre of gravity in Western Christendom to move westward. Statistics show that the Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregationalist and Methodist Churches in the United States and Canada have advanced during this period by very many millions, and Methodism to-day occupies a central position in polity and doctrine in the religious life of the Anglo-Saxon race. In Methodism, if it be true to itself, there are combined those elements which should make it the central point in any ultimate reunion. It possesses the Catholic note in its theology, an absolute universality in its message, and a foundation principle of great value in its genius for friendship with other communions. Wherever Methodism has lost this note and degenerated into provincialism and smug self-complacency, it has ceased to be Wesleyan and Catholic and become Sectarian.

As the early Tractarians were bound to triumph within their own communion in the long run because they had their foundation principles in the teaching of the Prayer Book, and not, like their Evangelical opponents, in the teaching of Calvin, so with equal certainty will those within Methodism, who are claiming the right to follow John Wesley, be rewarded if they imitate the patience of Keble, Pusey, Liddon, and Gore, and do not, in restlessness at the slowness of the "mills of God," make the blunder of Newman and Manning by an acceptance of re-ordination. The claim made in this year of grace by a large section of Anglicanism, that only through Bishops can a valid ministry be maintained, is not made by a long catena of great authorities in the Church of England right down to Lightfoot and Benson in the nineteenth century.

It is a less easy matter to explain to those who do not know Methodism intimately the weight of another consideration which gives Methodism its hold upon its children. "The Brotherhood," the name inside the freemasonry of Methodism by which the ministry is designated, is a term which is only one expression of that fellowship which binds ministers and people alike in an intimacy which is only saved from becoming a dangerous corporate selfishness by the missionary genius of Methodism.

Never since those first days in the history of the Church when "all that believed were together and had all things common" has the *Κοινωνία*[1] of that first joyous and abounding burst of new life found such expression. The original division of the "Society" into "Classes" of about twelve members provided mutual guidance and direction in the spiritual life, and furnished opportunity for the expression of a common faith, and a common joy in the revelation of God in Christ. The "lovefeasts," the gathering together of the class members in each locality, corresponding to the Agapé of the early Church, extended the closer fellowship of the smaller meetings to the whole Society in that place.

The marvellous connexionalism of Methodism, which is one element of its great socialistic experiment of expecting from every minister his undivided service and remunerating him according to his needs, has knit together the whole into an organisation the compactness of which is unsurpassed in ecclesiastical history. This is strengthened by the removal of each minister to a new sphere at least once in every three years.

The Methodist people have consequently a strange sense of ownership in their preachers. It is nearly forty years since the death of the Methodist orator Morley Punshon and the missionary advocate W. O. Simpson, but any man to-day visiting a remote country village who did not understand familiar references to "our famous preacher, Dr. Punshon," and to his friends and contemporaries, W. O. Simpson, G. T. Perks (father of Sir Robert Perks) and Gervase Smith, would be like an outsider in a gathering of Freemasons. Judge Waddy has been dead many years, but stories of his father and his uncle are still current coin in the treasury of the Methodist hagiographer. And if Methodism retains its characteristics, legends of the visits of Dinsdale Young and

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[1] This word John Wesley paraphrases as "that blessed and holy *fellowship*."—Sermon xxviii.

Sir Robert Perks will linger on in remote Lincolnshire and Yorkshire villages when great names in the political world of to-day are only remembered by the student.

Wherever Methodist meets Methodist there is a sense of unity, a bond of common interest, which is more powerful than the link which unites old Etonians or Oxford men. "A loyal Methodist" is a common phrase which expresses this spirit. This special "loyalty" is a great and a beautiful fact in the life of Methodism. To have one's "loyalty" undeservedly suspect through long years of service is perhaps the heaviest penalty that can befall anyone who has felt the call to criticise, and has sought in singleness of purpose the reform of one of the great institutions of Methodism.

Our common "Experience," "Fellowship," "The Brotherhood," "Loyalty to Methodism," are so many golden chains which bind the members to this great guild. If the chains of any genuine Methodist be broken some of the links will cling around him to the end.

The final and supreme reason why, in spite of social and other disabilities which ought not to count, but often do, Methodism still retains her children, is because those who seek true catholicity find it in the genius of the Methodist Church. Methodists individually may be, and often are, sectaries. Methodism itself cannot be true to its foundation principles and be sectarian. "The friends of all, the enemies of none," was the claim which John Wesley made for his people. In that passage on "Catholicity," quoted on the first page, every Methodist has his founder's testament bequeathing to him a legacy of love for all men, and a true large-heartedness which he may never enter into or accept, but which is his lawful inheritance. "The world is my parish," he may exclaim in his founder's words, and in that spirit, whatever land he visits, he can hold out the right hand of fellowship to all who do not deny him brotherhood. To him it has fallen to share the commission of the seventy, "Into whatsoever house ye shall enter, first say, 'Peace be to this house,' and if a son of peace be there your peace shall rest upon him, but if not it shall turn to you again."[1] As each denomination opens its gates, each church or chapel its doors, to any outside the ranks of its own people, he is willing to enter and say, "Peace be unto you and to this house." This is the Methodist spirit. If we fail to manifest it at all times the fault is ours and not that of the brotherhood into which we were born.

Therefore, since love is the supreme joy of life, and Methodism is love for God and love for man, universal, all embracing, we find our highest joy in a Methodism true to itself and its great redemptive mission.

Loyalty to Methodism compelled me very reluctantly to decline Dr. Farrar's invitation to Westminster and Bishop Temple's offer to ordain me in 1895. Loyalty to Wesley encouraged rather than prohibited my decision, in view of my special relations to the Anglican communion in Switzerland, to request confirmation in 1910.

Wesley lived and died in the communion of the Church of England, and nevertheless was the greatest and truest of all Methodists. The like privilege of being in communion with the Church of England and yet faithful to Methodism may surely be granted to one who seeks to follow Wesley as he followed Christ.

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[1] St. Luke x. 5 and 6.

CHAPTER XX

THE WILL TO LOVE

"The Love of Jesus"—The Need for Self-Discipline—A Weakness of Protestantism—Training for the Spiritual Warfare—The Call to Sacrifice—The Will to Love—"Validity and Effectiveness of Sacraments"—An Incident at the Front.

Nothing is sweeter than love, nothing more courageous, nothing higher, nothing wider, nothing more pleasant, nothing fuller or better in heaven and earth; because Love is born of God, and cannot rest but in God, above all created things.—THOMAS À KEMPIS.

The man who loves will never weep that he has no more worlds to conquer, for Love knows neither end to its sacrifices nor bounds to its desire.—J. N. FIGGIS.

The only safeguard of the purity of the Church is its own missionary passion.—RICHARD ROBERTS.

Love and do what thou wilt.—ST. AUGUSTINE.

MY little book entitled "The Love of Jesus" was written in the months immediately following my confirmation. A friend just then gave me a copy of the "Sanctuary," a small manual on the Holy Communion prepared for members of the Church of England. It occurred to me that I might prepare a similar book based on the writings of John Wesley, and call it "The Love of Jesus."

The pressure of life in the spring of 1910 had become increasingly heavy. The forces which compelled me to write sprang from my own pressing necessities. As the swiftest vessel must be put into dry dock from time to time to be cleansed from the vast amount of parasites, barnacles, and seaweed that retard her progress, so I felt that my soul needed to be cleansed from overgrowth.

The burdens of business, combined with the excitement of my parliamentary contest at the General Election, had left me exhausted in body and soul. Therefore it was that the Introductory Letter to my fellow-Methodists was primarily to myself. In my all too short leisure time I turned to the lives and writings of those men who, under the constraint of the love of God revealed in Christ, had quickened the life of humanity in successive ages when men were forgetting God. In the inspiration of this love was the secret which had created the great saints of the Universal Church. These men had been the divine instruments in the periodic revivals of the spiritual life which, from generation to generation, had rekindled the embers of a faltering faith, because they were constrained to intense devotion by that love.

Jesus taught men with the emphasis of a new revelation that love in its highest expression is at its best not the mere indulgence of natural affection but the discharge of a duty towards God and man. It is not the irresponsible yielding to an emotion, but a deliberate act resulting from the decision of the will. In his "Ars Amoris" Ovid described to a decadent civilisation the pleasures of love of the creature. Horace offered to men bored with ennui the choice between the charms of a Chloe or of a Ganymede.

Jesus walks in Galilee, away from the pestilential atmosphere of the world's metropolis, and gives to the world from Nazareth, the despised town of a despised province, a vision of love which it had not entered into the heart of man to conceive. "Thou *shalt* love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself." The categorical imperative transforms love's ideals from an embrace to a crucifixion. The love of the vineyard described in Solomon's Song is changed in the teaching of Jesus to the love nailed to the Cross, not merely by the order of Jewish fanatics but also by the compulsion of the Father's will. "God so loved the world." "My Lord, my Love, is crucified." The will to love has brought God to man; the will to love shall lift man to God. The compulsion of the love of Jesus for us led Him to the Cross. The compulsion of our love for Jesus should lead us to Calvary with its message of the victory over sin and death.

In this first decade of the new century it seemed to me that the one hope was that we should get back to the passion of Charles Wesley when he wrote: "Jesu, Lover of my Soul"—"Thou, O Christ, art all I want."

I then felt, and every day increasingly the conviction has grown upon me, that in order to realise the Love of Jesus we need to resort to that spiritual armoury of prayer, meditation, study of the Scriptures, self-discipline, and frequent use of Holy Communion, which gained for the Oxford students the name of "Methodists."

It has too often been regarded as a final condemnation of any recommendation to self-discipline, to call it asceticism. I have felt all my life that until the world is won for Christ we have no right to shrink from the word "ascetic." The Greek word, *ἄσκησις,* from which our word is derived, signifies the training which the athlete undertakes in order to win the prize at the games. *'Ασκητής*, the ascetic, was the trained runner, the trained gladiator, with whom St. Paul so constantly compares himself. He says, classing himself with this ascetic: "I buffet my body and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means, after I have preached to others, I should fail of the prize."

We need in the warfare of the Church to-day the asceticism of the soldier and not that of the dervish. To-day, with four years of this terrible war behind us, the necessity for training and discipline on the part of the Christian soldier becomes more obvious than it has ever been in our history. The life of the Churches at home, in their comparative luxury and self-indulgence, is condemned by the deeds of the Army abroad. We are engaged in an infinitely greater conflict than the conflict with Germany. "We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against spiritual wickedness in high places." Our warfare knows no cessation, and can know no cessation, until Christ is the universal King.

The Christian Church places itself in a hopeless position when it depends upon the small army of "regulars," whether it be monks, or the ministry and the office-bearers, or anything less than the whole Company of the Faithful.

We are all called to "active service," and active service involves, from all who take part in it, renunciation. If we would be disciples we must be prepared to discipline ourselves for the work that we are undertaking. In the *Spectator* of August, 1916, these lines, found on a dead soldier's body, are recorded:

> "Jesus, whose lot with us was cast,
> Who saw it out from first to last,
> Would I could win and keep and feel
> That heart of love, that spirit of steel. . . .
>
> . . . . .
>
> Flog me and spurn me, set me straight
> At some vile job I fear and hate;
> Some sickening round of long endeavour,
> No light, no rest, no outlet ever;
> All at a pace that must not slack,
> Though heart would break and sinews crack;
> Fog in one's eyes, the brain a-swim,
> A weight like lead in every limb,
> And a raw pit that hurts like hell
> Where the light breath once rose and fell;
> Do you but keep me, hope or none,
> Cheery and staunch till all is done,
> And at the last gasp quick to lend
> One effort more to serve a friend."

That is the message that has come to us from one of the heroes of the battlefield, and yet we here at home have never dared to set before ourselves and our fellows, as the universal rule, the Cross of the Crucified. From the trenches there comes to us to-day in our comfort, protected by these men, that great word of the Apostle Paul, addressed to Timothy—*Σὺγκακοπάθησον*, "Suffer hardship with me." This message comes alike from men on the battlefield, from the Apostle himself, and from the Leader whom he followed.

We have thought that we could rouse men to heroism by individual schemes of social reform, and failed to realise that the higher the call the surer the response. When Cavour set out to redeem Italy, a work which was completed in 1870, excepting for *Italia Irredenta,* a friend said to him, "Why not begin by reforming Naples?" He answered, "Men will not die to reform Naples, but they will die to unite Italy." So with us, men will not die to reform the Poor Law, but if they understand what it means they will give up all if need be to unite the Church and save the world. If we call for the heroic, heroes will be born in a day, but if we do this we must be prepared to pay the cost.

This cost is summed up in another word of St. Paul's. The word is ἀνταναπληρῶ, in the following wonderful and almost incomprehensible passage in which St. Paul, speaking of his own "labours more abundant," says: "I fill up on my part that which is lacking in the sufferings of Christ in my flesh for His body's sake, which is the Church." In these words is the secret, not of the asceticism of a Simeon Stylites, but of the self-sacrifice of an apostle.

The Oxford Methodists in the eighteenth century had deliberately set themselves to induce a revival by systematic prayer, study of devotional writers of all the ages, meditation and self-discipline. Tolstoy says: "The first condition of a good life is self-control, so the first condition of self-control is fasting."[1] In this statement he agreed with John Wesley. It is for us to set ourselves to consider what we can do to kindle anew by like methods to those of the early Methodists the passion for the conversion of the world to Christ.

Therefore, this little book urged that we should adopt the means that the example of our Lord and of His greatest apostles in every age teaches us to adopt, if we would maintain the power which was poured out on the Day of Pentecost, that in secret prayer and meditation we should cultivate the love of God, that we should wait upon our Lord in the silence to receive His most intimate message.

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[1] "Essays and Letters" (Frowde), p. 79.

The contrast is great between the Methodist of to-day who passes from the small house to the villa, from the villa to the great mansion, from a maid of all work to a retinue of servants, and the great evangelist of England who died possessing two silver spoons, "one in London and the other in Bristol," notwithstanding that by his publications he had made and given away tens of thousands of pounds.

In view of these facts I felt that we must ask ourselves what are we going to do, when the German war is over, in the greater war that will remain to us? What *will* we then do for the love of Jesus? "Will," not "shall"; it is no question of the future tense. Our volition is in our own hands. Do we will to love Jesus? The will to power has almost destroyed civilisation. What is worse than that, it has destroyed the lives of millions; it has destroyed the intellectual powers and the physical energy of millions more. Worst of all—in this shattering of home life, this herding together of millions of men far away from friends and home, living in the towns of warring nations, separated from all the influences of their boyhood, sin has captured multitudes of souls. What are we going to do in the face of these facts?

The will to love Jesus, and in Him the world He has redeemed, can alone restore all that really matters. The mind is its own place. What counts is not the rebuilding of houses, but the restoration of righteousness, law, and love, and the way to this is by the will to love.

We have been told with passion by those who have worked in the name of Christ in the trenches that unless we be united the men from the front will have no use for us. We have sought union hitherto—if I may use the illustration—too much as a mechanical mixture instead of as a chemical compound. We have thought that by hammering, bending, twisting, and wresting men's convictions unity may be achieved, and all the time the true remedy was at hand. We have acted like the smith who, forgetful of all the lessons of his life, and the rules of his craft, would strive to weld bars of cold iron by beating them with his heaviest hammer. "Force is no remedy," and is only folly when the furnace is at hand which can quickly achieve the end. In the furnace of the divine love, souls long sundered are joined in an inseparable communion. Too long have they, after some great schism,

> Stood aloof, the scars remaining,
> Like cliffs that have been rent asunder.

If the love of Jesus, as St. John understood it, and as St. Paul, St. Bernard, St. Francis and John Wesley understood it, possessed the Churches, we might hope for the realisation of that unity to which all creation moves, and which was and is and ever will be the purpose of Him who prayed "That they all may be one."

This little volume was in its main content a manual of preparation for the Holy Communion. No one who has studied the history of the Church can fail to know that the Blessed Eucharist, which was intended to be the central act of the Church's life and the great bond of unity between all the followers of the Crucified, has created wider chasms and greater conflicts than any other institution of the Christian faith.

It seemed to me possible that insistence upon the positive teaching which we as Methodists accept, and is contained in John Wesley's writings and publications, would help towards unity. Everything of a negative nature was outside of my purpose. The materialism of negation is worse than the materialism of affirmation. Truth is mightier than error; darkness disappears when light comes in. Only harm comes through fighting darkness with our own torches and inventions. Let us leave the dispersion of the darkness to the rays of the sun. We can only overcome darkness by light; death by life; hatred by love; evil by good. The supreme test of truth is in experience. This has always been the contention of Methodism. To quote again those lines which so express the genius of our communion :

What we have felt and seen
  With confidence we tell,
And publish to the sons of men
  The signs infallible.

After the Bishop of Lincoln had read this little book, he said to me, "Do you know that you have never mentioned the Church of England from cover to cover of your little book?"

I answered truly that I did not know. I was only concerned to express those truths and that teaching about the sacrament of the Lord's Supper which were in harmony with John Wesley's life and works. My duty was to affirm and not to deny.

Since this book was written I have been much encouraged by the increasing readiness of leading thinkers in the Church of England who are not prepared to admit the "validity" of our sacraments, to consider their "effectiveness." Father Herbert Kelly, S.S.M., in his excellent and thoughtful book on the Church and Religious Unity, lays great emphasis on the "validity" of the sacraments in the Church of England. This validity is really a matter of less moment than he would recognise, if due weight be given to the "effectiveness" of the sacraments of the non-Episcopal communions.

Let me illustrate what I mean by two incidents remarkably akin which have occurred in this present war. The first was told to me by a High Church dignitary whose friend, also a High Church clergyman, was the father of the young officer concerned. This young man and two of his Eton friends were just going into action. They wished for the Holy Communion, but they could not find their own padre. In their anxiety they went to a Wesleyan chaplain, who conducted the service. The father and my friend the High Church dignitary discussed the incident and agreed that such a sacrament was certainly "effective."

The other incident occurred with a Methodist lay preacher, and was related at the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1917. Four soldiers were going "over the top" and wished for the Communion. No chaplain was at hand. They were all Methodists facing death in the face of Christ, with the same confident hope as that which inspired the martyrs of the early Church. One of them, a lay preacher, said: "We have bread and wine. I will repeat the words of our service [the Anglican form] and we will receive together the token of the love of our Lord."

Who dare deny the "efficacy" of that Sacrament? I put this question to a High Church Bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church. His answer was, "Twenty years since I should have denied it. I dare not do so to-day."

Surely of such an incident we can say:

The love of God is broader
  Than the measure of man's mind,
And the heart of the Eternal
  Is most wonderfully kind.

Such considerations led me to hope that the emphasis contained in Wesley's teachings on the Sacrament when brought together in this manual would at once quicken our people to a sense of the great privilege which they have inherited from the universal Church, and of which none can deprive them, and would at the same time help on the sacred cause of Christian Unity. How far this purpose was fulfilled was indicated by the kindly reception which was accorded to this little volume by those as widely separated as the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Jowett; Bishop Gore and Dr. Whyte; the *Catholic Times* and the *Christian World*. I had feared many rebukes from extremists on either side, but my fears were condemned by the result.

CHAPTER XXI

REST IN "A DESERT PLACE" (1911—1915)

The Need for Retreats—Father Plater's "Retreats for the People"—Retreat at Swanwick, September, 1912—Visit to Mirfield, November 30th, 1912—Retreat of Oxford Students at Horndon, 1913—At Jordans, 1914—Conference on Retreats at Mirfield, 1915—Methods of Retreat—The Ignatian Method—The Expository Method—Dangers of exploiting Religious Experience—Retreats for Laymen—The Psychology of Retreats—The Aim of Retreats.

See that thou make all things according to the pattern showed thee in the Mount.—EXODUS.

A ministry that is to impress on the world the very Mind of Christ ought to have an inner life disciplined by habitual intercourse with the unseen world. . . . Thirty years of our Blessed Lord's life were spent in seclusion, to be followed by only three years of active ministry.—T. T. CARTER, of Clewer, "Retreat Addresses."

Meditate as much while on this journey as if you were shut up in a hermitage or in your cell, for wherever we are, wherever we go, we carry our cell with us. Brother, body is our cell, and the soul is the hermit who dwells in it, there to pray to the Lord and to meditate.—ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

TWO years passed away after I had written my little book, "The Love of Jesus," in which I had tried to make plain how much the Will to Love meant.

As I thought of all the spiritual adventurers who had made the great discoveries of the religious life, who from the mountain-tops of faith had seen the promised land, I realised that they had one experience in common. They had strengthened the Will to Love and the Will to Serve by retirement from the tumult and distraction of daily life. And there was another feature common to these religious leaders. They had joined others with them in the quest. Jesus and His disciples exchanged experiences with the Baptist and his followers. Every great revival within the Church for fourteen centuries following the apostolic age was a revival in community. Benedict, Dominic, Bernard, Francis, Catherine of Siena, Catherine of Genoa, and Teresa sought to know the will of Christ in the common silence as well as in the common prayer and praise of their fraternity, sisterhood, or whatever the community might be called.

After the Reformation, Wesley had closely followed the founders of monastic orders, as far as was possible, in the political and social conditions of his age, and was frequently mobbed in consequence. The fear of the restoration of the Stuarts and of the papal power was ever present. Wesley was thirteen when the Old Pretender came, and forty-three when the Young Pretender made his attempt. The zeal of an indiscriminating patriotism which, amid the terrors roused in the Great War we can well understand and almost sympathise with, drew no distinction between a genuine Jacobite and a practical ascetic whose passion to save the common people led him to obey the commands of Jesus by the use of methods which saints distinctively Roman had also adopted. Wesley's division of his people into "Bands" and "Classes" for self-examination, confession, and discipline, although it lacked the sacerdotal element, was like enough to "Popery" to rouse the fury of some ultra-loyal and Protestant fox-hunting squire as he led the mob to attack the "enthusiasts."

Wesley was right in learning from the great saints of all ages the secret of that power which they received from retirement and communion with God. Therefore the fact that Ignatius Loyola first systematised the Retreat in that great masterpiece of spiritual discipline, "The Exercises," was no reason for rejecting a method which was used alike by Moses, Elijah, the Baptist, the Master Himself, and by His disciples between His ascension and the gift of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.

One day in July, 1911, I called on my dear friend, J. E. Rattenbury, of the West London Mission, as in earlier days I had often called on his predecessor, Hugh Price Hughes, for encouragement in life's conflicts. I suggested to him that we should go into Retreat with a few of his friends and mine. He said: "It is strange that you should come to me with this suggestion just now, for Harry Bisseker and one or two others have just arranged to go to Swanwick 'in Retreat.' I cannot get away myself, but I will write to Bisseker and ask him to invite you."

During the interval which elapsed between this conversation and my retreat at Swanwick, I read Father Plater's very interesting book, "Retreats for the People,"[1] This volume records a special movement during the present generation to promote retreats for the laity of the Roman Church. The work commenced in a retreat for laymen in France in 1874, and spread rapidly to different countries in Europe and North and South America. In answer to the natural criticism of Englishmen that such a movement was a mere appeal to the emotions, Father Plater answered, "These Retreats do not make men sentimentalists or dreamers. On the contrary, they make men sternly practical." An interesting phrase constantly used by Father Plater is, "The formation of Apostles." "This is the chief work of the Retreat House," he says, "to produce not a crowd of averagely good Christians, but a few apostles, men of noble heart and high ideals, and clear convictions, who will be 'the salt of the earth.'"

Quoting from another writer, he says: "An *élite* alone can save us. To form a nucleus of Christians tempered to resist the assaults of the foe, impregnated with the apostolic spirit, ready to waive their personal interests, to penetrate the masses, to strengthen the faith that totters, to rally the scattered men of good will—that is the pressing task. It is on foot. It is being accomplished quietly but surely—by means of Retreats."

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[1] Sands & Co.

The Methodist Retreat at Swanwick was held on September 20th—23rd, 1912, and was attended by nearly a hundred ministers and laymen. A deep devotional spirit pervaded all the discussions, and all expressed their sense of the helpfulness of the gathering. The only defect which some of us felt was the absence of anything approaching to self-discipline. A motion that we should observe definite hours of silence was not agreed to, but this question was left to the individual choice of the members. When one meets the dearest friends of long years ago in these circumstances, there is so much to say that silence is almost impossible, unless it be the rule. One great weakness of the Free Churches and especially of Methodism lies in the passion for talk, and the distaste for self-conquest in such matters. I mention these things in no critical spirit, but because my experiences of the Swanwick Retreats in following years deepened my conviction that we need to learn from the wisdom of the Jesuits and of the Society of Friends in this matter, or such retreats merely become delightful religious holidays instead of being times of hard training for the Christian soldier.

After my visit to Swanwick I decided to prepare the little manual, "Retreats for the Soul," and with this in view, to visit an Anglican retreat. I therefore wrote to Dr. Frere, head of the Community of the Resurrection, and asked his permission to attend a retreat at Mirfield. This was freely granted, and on November 30th I passed through Leeds on my way to Mirfield.

Dr. Frere was at that time in residence at the Community's Theological College in Leeds, and I had a short conversation with him in which, with that characteristic breadth of sympathy which marks the Community, he said: "The conventions that are increasing so much are withdrawals from the ordinary life of the world, though they may not be characterised by the exact features of a Retreat."

Nevertheless, when I reached Mirfield and entered the perfect calm of the Community life, I felt that the absolute cessation of conversation and discussion, which dated from the commencement of the Retreat on Saturday night to its termination at supper on Sunday night, was essential. Between the acts of common worship that took place during the day, there were periods when, spiritually and physically, one could "rest in the Lord and wait patiently for Him," or could continue in private penitential prayers and endeavours after that closer union with the Divine which had marked the hours of worship. The soldier-like simplicity of the Brotherhood impressed me greatly. There were no servants and no lay brothers. One of the Fathers came to my room to see if any coals were needed for the fire, and I found that all the household work, including the waiting at table, was being done by these educated men.

Father Horner, who conducted the Retreat, emphasised in his first address the fact that the supreme object of the Retreat was to get alone into the presence of God, and to realise one's nearness to Him. As in the restful quiet of the spacious and beautiful Community Church one listened to his exposition of the Holy Calling in the letter to the Ephesians, one forgot—as he intended us to forget—the "priest," and only realised God and the privilege of "dwelling in Heavenly places." "God is not far away but with us now, he said; "our prayers have not to travel to reach Him." We were called, "not to know things about God, but to know God." So also with reference to the Love of God. We were "not to know all about it." We were to know "the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that we may be filled with all the fullness of God." "We are called to be saints, and our response must be to be fruitful and faithful."

The addresses were given by Father Horner, seated, and speaking in an easy conversational tone, in a manner most calculated to make us forget the speaker in his message. I was much impressed by Father Horner's extempore prayers preceding and following each of his four addresses, enriched as they were by passages from liturgical forms.

This Mirfield Retreat encouraged me to press on with my manual and to seek in other ways to cultivate retreats amongst my own people.

During the following Oxford summer term I was invited to speak at a dinner of the Oxford Wesley Society, and spoke to the men of their high calling as followers of that Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, whose teaching had changed England and evangelised the American colonies. After the dinner I invited as many as would come to meet me in Retreat at Horndon-on-the-Hill, in Essex. In this delightfully solitary place, my old friend Stansfeld, of Horncastle days, who was now Vicar of St. Ebbs, Oxford, had acquired thirty-five acres of land. Here his mission boys from the Bermondsey Mission, of which he had previously been in charge, had built a very primitive little church to hold thirty, a dining-room, and thirty wooden bedrooms in the form of a quadrangle with cloisters. The bedrooms were furnished with monastic severity, each with a bedstead, mattress, khaki blanket and chair. Our retreat was held at the end of the summer term, June 14th—17th, 1913, in the most glorious weather. The Bermondsey lads had planted the grounds with young trees, foxgloves, wild roses and other wild flowers. We could not have found a more delightful place for a retreat.

We were about sixteen in all, and were joined by an old minister, the Rev. George Lester, who came at my request that we might commence each day with the celebration of the Supreme Love of our Lord in the sacrament of His Body and Blood. After a bathe on those brilliant June mornings in a pond in a corner of the grounds, we gathered in the little church—a building which, by the wish of the vicar of the parish, had remained unconsecrated—and here we bowed in lowly adoration before the Mystery of God made flesh for us men and for our salvation.

None will forget the beauty and calm of those summer days. Silence was observed excepting during mealtimes and two and a half hours left free for recreation. An increasing sense of unity and fellowship pervaded our little company, and after my addresses, one by one the men came to me, as they were free to do at all hours, to tell me of their own special difficulties and temptations. The joy and the blessing of this Retreat cannot be put on paper.

A year later—in 1914—less than two months before the outbreak of war, a similar little company gathered at the Jordans, Beaconsfield, the home of William Penn, who himself recommends the practice of retreats. The Rev. W. B. Brash, our Oxford chaplain, took the Holy Communion services, and again the experiences of the previous year were repeated. Alas! we little knew of the storm-cloud gathering over Europe, and as I look at their signatures interchanged with me, I see names which have been written for the last time in an earthly Roll of Honour, but are now written in the Lamb's Book of Life.

The publication of my little book had been noticed by the Mirfield Fathers after my visit there. Nevertheless, I was very much surprised to receive, early in 1916, an invitation from Father Cyril Bickersteth to attend a Conference on Retreats in the House of the Resurrection at Mirfield on May 1st—3rd, and to speak on "The Extension of Retreats amongst Laymen." The Conference consisted of forty members, mainly Fathers in community life, with a few Anglican clergymen in parochial work, one other layman, and myself. Amongst the speakers were Father Longridge, of Mirfield, who presided; Father Lucius Cary, of Cowley; Father Seaton, Principal of the Theological College at Cuddesdon; Father Cyril Bickersteth, Father Figgis, Father Bull, of Mirfield, and others.

I was very warmly welcomed at the House of the Resurrection by the Fathers whom I had met previously and by Dr. Frere, who arrived during the evening, bringing with him two Serbian monks, an interesting addition to our company. They spoke a little English, and attended the services and the Conference. I think they felt very much at home with the monastic chapel and the regular services, prime, tierce, sext, nones, and compline, with, of course, the early celebration after prime. We were each of us given on arrival a list of speakers and programme with instructions to observe the Greater Silence from after compline till 10 a.m. the next day, compline finishing at 10 p.m. This was most helpful, as it gave time for a little quiet meditation before the Conference began.

The Conference was opened on Tuesday morning on the subject, "Methods of Retreat," by Father Longridge, of Cowley, who is a brother of Father George Longridge, of Mirfield. He is a great authority on Ignatius, and spoke of the Ignatian method of retreat in contrast with the expository method, which latter he held was insufficient, as the object of the retreat was that the ideas dwelt on should grow and increase within the soul.

The Ignatian method consists of four courses or weeks—Purgation, Illumination and Union with God.

The first week is devoted to the consideration of sin and its consequences. The second to the mysteries and teaching of our Lord's Life. While we thus meditate on Christ's life we are led to consider in what way we can best bring our life into harmony with Christ's. During the third week we dwell on the sufferings of Christ, and in the fourth week on our share of the glory of the Resurrection and the Divine Life.

The outline of this course is contained in Hebrews xii. These rules, he said, were no Procrustean bed on which all were to be stretched; the whole plan was modified to suit the needs of each. The Director kept himself in the background and allowed the Creator to work immediately with the creature.

Father Seaton, the Principal of Cuddesdon, spoke on the Expository method, which he preferred to the Ignatian. The subject of the Retreat, he said, was conditioned by the purpose of the Retreat. The purpose was that Christ should impart Himself to the devout soul.

For those in retreat, he held that the normal channel of the Divine Spirit was through the teaching of the Word. Nothing could take its place, and all the good results of meditation were based upon it. In the retreats which he had attended he had been amazed at the new avenues that had been opened up, and he believed that this was true wherever the Holy Scriptures were used faithfully. The great aim should be to combine the Ignatian and Expository methods. The best material for a retreat was our own discoveries in the Christian life.

One felt that these men were the great adventurers of this age opening up new territories in the spiritual world for us to occupy.

Father Figgis, who is the philosopher of the Mirfield Brotherhood, said it was dangerous that the conductor should exploit his own religious experiences. Religion was too often self-centred instead of God-centred; faith in faith instead of faith in God. Our object was to forget ourselves. Retreatants should be taken away from their work and also from themselves, not only from the consideration of their outward life but also of their inner life. We must bring them face to face with God and leave them there.

The retreat should not be on one note. The conductor should follow the purgative, the illuminative, and the unitive path. These should be the notes in his mind; but he should always aim at leaving the Retreatants "in heaven—at rest with God."

The afternoon session was devoted to the question of the extension of Retreats amongst the clergy, laymen and women. The second subject fell to my lot, and nothing could have exceeded the cordial sympathy with which the Conference listened to me for forty minutes.

On Wednesday morning Father Bull opened the Conference with a most valuable address on the Psychology of Retreats. I should like to have reproduced it in full, but can only give the following points:

He held that there were the fixed method and the free method. The fixed method was when we meditated to cultivate a special virtue such as humility. The free method aimed at bringing the soul into the presence of God that He might surround it with His love. Both were legitimate. Our tendency was to the free because it was so difficult to carry out the fixed.

The first exercise in a retreat was silence. He advocated at least three-day retreats. The effect of silence was (1) a cultivation of self-restraint and self-control. It had the effect of the command, "Silence in the ranks," on a lot of raw recruits. This was the first element in their training and meant a great deal to them. (2) The next effect of silence was the recollection of God speaking to them. He greatly regretted that people did not more definitely expect ministrations of angels and the definite speakings of God's voice. (3) It stopped the leakage of spiritual force. "In the desert man shrinks and God grows." We could not get much good from silence until the irritation has passed.

Speaking of self-examination, he said it was possible to make too much of the more direct form, and we might with advantage more frequently make our self-examination positive—how far were we showing the fruits of the Spirit in our lives? Charity, humility, energy, love, joy, peace. "Anæmia is not a virtue but a misfortune."

In the matter of repetitions they might be psychic or pneumatic. They might aim at a sort of hypnotism open to grave objections or they might be spiritual. There was a real objection to the first part of the "Exercises." It applied also to some of the methods of English Revivalists. The same thing applied to Benediction in America, where the soft, bright transformation scenes with music adapted to this special end, etc., led to this hypnotic state. He believed that God meant us to use our reason untrammelled by such influences. At the same time he recognised that repetitions might have their use in affecting the mind, the heart and the will.

"The greatest crime," he said, "with which Anglicans can rightly be charged is the murder of the imagination. We begin by giving the babe toy aeroplanes instead of dolls, by giving all children scientific instruction instead of fairy tales, and we go on all through life in the same way. We are right in cultivating the imagination by depicting the scenes of Calvary. We should add to this the effect of the senses, by burning the scene into the mind of the retreatant."

He then spoke of Colloquies, which ought to be cultivated more. "Our people," he said, "do not know how to carry on conversations with those in the unseen world." Personally, I did not know what Colloquies were till I studied the fourth book of the "Imitation." We Methodists sing,

"In Him the tribes of Adam boast
More blessings than their father lost,"

but do we realise that as truly as Adam talked with God in the Garden, and as Jesus conversed with Moses and Elias, so we may meet our Lord in the solitude and converse with Him? And yet we sing,

"Talk with us, Lord, Thyself reveal,
While here o'er earth we rove;
Speak to our hearts, and let us feel
The kindling of Thy love."

Father Bull went on to say that the centre of the Exercises was the holy indifference of the Lover to everything but the object of His love. He always used the visions of the Revelation as Exercises, in order that people may see Christ at the head of His army, in His City, on His throne.

The greatest problem, he said, was the one that Sir Henry Lunn referred to in his speech. How to appeal to the heroic, how to breed martyrs, how to rouse enthusiasm for God and His Christ. We had to learn how to eliminate the appalling vice of lukewarmness. In English theology only did it find a place. We had baptised it as a virtue which we called "moderation."

Father Figgis expressed his sympathy with what Father Bull had said about the dangers of hypnotism, but we must guard the other side in an age of attack like the present. People were always bound to ask themselves, "Is my religion, so real to me, anything more than a case of self-hypnotism?" We must face the attack and recall such people to the cumulative effect of the testimony on which the Church is built. He believed that the danger of hypnotising the will was real, and under the Jesuits the individual became a mere instrument, but was the attempt to influence the sub-conscious elements always wrong? He thought we were justified in attempting, by a combination of influences, to control those sub-conscious elements. Ritual, music, and sights, as such influences had their dangers, but they had their uses if balanced by the intellectual side, which is the secondary and more superficial side of our nature.

I was most attracted by the address of one of the Cowley Fathers who spoke of his own experiences so intimately that he would, I am sure, desire me to omit his name. He spoke of the help he had received at his retreat as a novice in the Society of St. John the Evangelist, when, according to the rules of the Society, he spent three weeks alone with his director, and a week with the Society, and of his retreat as a postulant when he spent a fortnight alone with his director, and a fortnight with the Society. In the last twenty years he had attended many retreats, but amongst them all one stood out pre-eminent as an aid to holiness. It was a fortnight's retreat absolutely alone with God. On this occasion he celebrated the great love of Christ every morning in the Eucharist, and based his meditations on the Exercises.

I should perhaps better convey his spirit by quoting some extracts from a volume of his addresses given to a Community in Retreat which is amongst my most treasured possessions: "We realise afresh that the call to retreat, and all that retreat may mean to us, is but a renewing in divine wisdom of that love which has been revealed to us in our vocation. . . . Not by thought but by love bringing ourselves before God, and yielding all our faculties to Him in full surrender. Kneeling thus before Him with eyes closed and faces veiled, lest the light should be too great, the thought too overwhelming, we may rest in the presence of Love made manifest; and our hearts thus opened will receive not the thought only but the impress, the reality of His life."

"Regret for what we have left would clearly be impossible for a whole-hearted lover of Christ, for Whose love, all that love ever meant to us was but a preparation."

"There are none who may not come to know our Lord intimately, and through Him the Father, by the experience of entire consecration to Him. Not by seeing, not by hearing, not by learning, but by love do we come to know Him."

"Our Lord would draw us to Himself first, and then through us, as through His humanity, would send forth continually the beams of pitying love."

"If we shrink back and cannot bear the Cross, what part can we have with the Crucified? The world stood by to mock on Calvary. So our mortification is usually only to be seen by the eyes of Love. Those mortifications are best which are interior, the humble, contrite spirit, which bears not only deserved but undeserved reproof, which accepts and cherishes humiliations, which welcomes failure rather than success, because it knows success has dangers."

"The soul's growth, therefore, is hidden from the world, and no eye but that of Jesus can really guide and cherish it. Christ alone knows the true story of the soul's growth, the self-oblation, the patience, the perseverance, the fire of divine love, the hidden work of the Holy Spirit day by day, of which angels and men shall see at last the complete result, the image of Christ reflected in a perfect character."

"Those only are allowed to learn the heart of Christ most deeply who are with Him in Gethsemane and on the Cross."

In the course of his address he said: "That which is most needed is a trained school of directors, prepared not in the study, but in the oratory and before the altar." Of such is he.

When I left Mirfield I did not wonder that with such men leading the devotional life of the Church as I had been privileged to meet in such an intimate way during these two memorable days, the Church of England had added tens of thousands to its communicant roll at Easter during these same years in which each of the Free Churches had been marking a grave decline. And yet there are in Methodism a multitude, trained in experimental religion, who would respond at once to such teaching as I have quoted if we, their teachers, had the devotion necessary to summon them to enter into retreat, and the grace to deliver such a message.

In those two days I realised how near men come to each other when they rise above the valley with its unbelief and its distracting cries, to the Mount of Illumination, and on its summit hear the voices of the Master and of those with whom He holds converse. Then may the soul indeed say, "Lord, it is good for us to be here." Thence we may return to the crowd with a new power to face the needs of men.

CHAPTER XXII

WELSH CHURCH DISENDOWMENT (1911—1915)

The Welsh Bill—Disestablishment and Disendowment Separate Questions—Misgivings as to Disendowment—Dr. Hensley Henson's Appeal to Nonconformists—My Letter to the *Times* 1911—Conciliation Committee suggested—Views of Sir Jesse Herbert and Dr. Clifford—Sir Edward Fry becomes President of Committee—List of Members of Committee—Sympathy of English Free Churchmen—Memorial to the Government drawn up—Presented by Bishop Gore and Dr. Scott Lidgett—Mr. Asquith replies—The Suspensory Act of 1914—Welsh Church penalised—Correspondence in the *Times*—Memorial to Mr. Asquith—The Duke of Devonshire's Bill—Further Appeal to the Prime Minister—Mr. McKenna's Attitude—Effect on the Government—Mr. Lloyd George's Speech—Accusation of "Meddling" examined—No Separation between English and Welsh Nonconformity—Duty of English Free Churchmen—Disendowment a Hindrance to Unity

The battle is lost, but there is time to win another.—GENERAL DESAIX to Napoleon, half way through the Battle of Marengo.

It is only by abridging the authority of the State that the liberty of churches can be assured. That great political idea, sanctifying freedom and consecrating it to God, teaching men to treasure the liberties of others as their own and to defend them for the love of justice and charity more than as a claim of right, has been the soul of what has been great and good in the progress of the last two hundred years.—LORD ACTON.

IN the autumn of 1909 I was greatly troubled by the provisions of the Welsh Bill. The further the controversy proceeded, the more fatal the conditions as to disendowment seemed to be to the cause of Christian unity in Great Britain.

I had always strongly held that the Church, and the cause of religion generally, suffered much by the establishment of religion in any country. In my university days I had spoken in this sense in the College Historical Society, and in political speeches from time to time I had taken up the same position. I believed then and I believe still the truth of St. Theodoret's comment on the conversion of Constantine, "This day is poison poured into the Church of Christ." I never wavered in the conviction that State aid and control of religion resulted in infinite mischief to the Church. But during all these years I had never found myself able to make a speech in support of disendowment.

The Welsh Church Bill was now before the Houses of Parliament, and I felt it my duty as a member of the Liberal Party carefully to study the question of disendowment. I wrote to the Liberation Society for their literature. When I received their reply I felt with Milton, "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed." On the other hand, the more I read the more I found to confirm my own instinctive feeling that the Free Churches in England were wrong in supporting the demand for Disendowment.

Day by day, as I followed the struggle in Parliament and outside, the conviction deepened in my mind that the whole Church of Christ in our land was being gravely injured by the bitterness of the controversy. Through all the years the bitterness had grown. I do not attempt to apportion the blame, but the fact of the bitterness was indisputable.

In the late autumn of 1911 Canon Henson, now Bishop of Hereford, wrote a letter to the *Times* appealing to the Nonconformists to make some protest against the measure. I had never spoken to or communicated with Canon Henson, and without consultation with any ecclesiastic or politician, I sat down one Sunday morning at the end of November, 1911, to write a letter to the *Times* and other papers.

In this letter I pointed out that it was a grave matter for one who had entered the sixth decade of life to take public action which would separate him (even if on one important issue only) from those whose religious and civic aspirations he had always shared, and in whose labours he had taken part. I therefore asked any of those leaders of the Free Churches who dreaded the struggle about temporalities with which the religious life of the nation was threatened, to enter into conference with representative Churchmen, and see if it were not possible to recommend to the Government and the nation such amendments to the Bill of 1909 as would clear the Free Churches from the imputation of attempting to despoil a Christian community that was doing good work. I urged them to take this course, notwithstanding their conviction that it was necessary to free religion from the trammels of the State. I pointed out that in 1892 the present Bishop of St. David's, then Dean Owen of St. Asaph's, wrote in the *Review of the Churches* (of which I was the Editor) a plea that every effort should be made to keep in check the asperities of the conflict on Welsh Disestablishment. Later on, Dr. Owen came to my house and asked me personally, as President of the Reunion Conferences which met in Switzerland from 1892 to 1895, to call together a conference of the leaders of both sides to see if anything could be done in this direction, and to ask the Bishop of London to preside. Bishop Temple had on another occasion willingly consented, in response to a request from me, to unite with Nonconformists in social effort, but at this time he did not see his way to preside over a conference on "Civic Relations and Disestablishment" because he felt that such a conference would be ineffective.

My letter went on to say that some of my friends might insist: "You are ignoring the question of principle: you forget Gladstone's words, 'I have declared again and again that the funds of the Church are national property.' You ignore Bishop Gore's statement that 'Disestablishment must be accompanied by some measure of Disendowment.'" The answer to this line of argument was that the Bill of 1909 was itself a compromise, as every measure of disendowment that does not nationalise the Churches must be. The Bill left the Church all her church buildings and residences and all funds allocated to their upkeep, and all private benefactions since 1662. Why should the year 1662, when the Act of Uniformity was carried, be a more desirable year than 1604, the year of the Savoy Conference between the Church of England and the Puritans, or 1558, when Protestantism was restored by Queen Elizabeth and the Puritan divisions began? Since the year 1662 was obviously selected as the best dividing line, and was only in the nature of an expedient, why should not the leaders on both sides meet and discover, if possible, some other expedient which should bring peace to the nation in its ecclesiastical life, instead of bitterness and discord?

I therefore suggested the formation of a Round Table Conference, which should consist of English and Welsh representatives of the Church of England and the Free Churches.

I concluded the letter as I began, on the personal note, because I wished to make an appeal to those who had worked with me in the past. Three of the members of the Government whose names were on the back of the 1909 Bill had honoured me with their friendship. This friendship had been shown to me because I had up to that moment been faithful to the principles of Liberalism as I understood them, often at great cost to myself. The letter might have led some for whose opinion I cared greatly to regard me as half-hearted. But when I realised the great issues involved, the infinite damage to religion that would come from three years of bitter strife in which the future of the English Church as a whole would be believed to be at stake, I felt it an absolute duty to take action.

Nothing that I had ever written had cost me more. I sat at my writing-table without touching food, on the Sunday when I wrote it, until five in the afternoon, when I had finished the letter. That time had been spent wrestling with the question in thought and prayer. I felt that I was cutting myself off from my best friends and former colleagues. It was the first time I had ever taken action in criticism of the general position of the Liberal Party since I began political work with speeches in support of Home Rule at the 1886 election, delivered all over Great Britain from Nairn to Clapham, from Lincolnshire to the Lake District.

Having drafted the letter, I went in the evening to call on my friend, Sir Jesse Herbert, Political Secretary to the Chief Whip of the Liberal Party. To my surprise, he said at once, "You are doing the right thing in endeavouring to form a Conciliation Committee. I do not like our taking the money. This question ought to be settled by agreement." With this encouragement I went to work on Monday to form the Committee. I saw leading men on both sides and was surprised by my reception, which was most favourable in all quarters with the exception of Welsh Nonconformists whom I asked to join, and who refused point blank. Canon Henson joined the Committee at once. The next to join were Dr. Scott Lidgett and Dr. Monro Gibson, ex-Presidents of the Free Church Council. I went that week to Oxford and saw Bishop Gore and Canon Scott Holland, both of whom consented to join.

I called on that veteran Nonconformist, Dr. John Clifford, who had been my co-editor in days gone by, and his kindliness of spirit was never more shown than on this occasion. He said to me, "You cannot ask me to join your Committee after having been President of the Liberation Society for twenty-five years, but will you preach for me next Sunday?"—which I did.

After my letter appeared I heard from the Bishop of Lincoln to say that he had read it in the *Times*, and would like to join the Committee. I interviewed Sir Edward Fry, the distinguished judge whose career has added fresh lustre to the record of that great Quaker family, and he consented to become President.

The Committee was constituted as follows:

The Right Hon. Sir Edward Fry, O.M., G.C.B., etc., Chairman.
The Rev. Principal W. F. Adeney, D.D., Chairman of the Congregational Union.
Mr. Edward Atkin.
The Rev. Canon Barnett.

The Rev. S. O. Baumgarten, Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury.

The Rev. J. F. Bradley, author of "Religious Liberty in England."

The Rev. Percy Dearmer, D.D.

Sir James Duckworth, ex-President of the United Methodist Free Churches.

The Very Rev. Moore Ede, D.D., Dean of Worcester.

The Very Rev. T. C. Fry, D.D., Dean of Lincoln.

The Rev. J. Monro Gibson, D.D., ex-President of the National Free Church Council; ex-Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of England.

The Right Rev. Charles Gore, D.D., Lord Bishop of Oxford.

The Rev. H. Hensley Henson, Canon of Westminster.

The Right Rev. Charles Hicks, D.D., Lord Bishop of Lincoln.

The Rev. Canon Scott Holland, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity of the University of Oxford.

Mr. D. C. Lathbury, formerly editor of the *Guardian*.

The Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, D.D., ex-President of the National Free Church Council, and ex-President of the Wesleyan Conference.

Dr. T. B. Napier, formerly M.P. for N.E. Kent.

The Rev. G. Campbell Morgan, D.D., Pastor of Westminster Chapel.

The Rev. J. H. Moulton, D.Litt., Dean of the Theological Faculty of Manchester University.

Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., M.P.

Professor A. S. Peake, D.D., Professor of Biblical Exegesis, Manchester University.

The Rev. J. E. Rattenbury, Superintendent of the West London Mission.

The Rev. W. G. Edwards Rees, Hon. Canon of Manchester.

The Rev. J. E. Roberts, D.D., successor to Dr. Alexander Maclaren at Union Chapel, Manchester.

Sir Edward Russell, editor of the *Liverpool Post*.

Lord Saye and Sele.

The Rev. W. B. Selbie, D.D., Principal of Mansfield College.

The Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, D.D., Secretary of the Baptist Union.

The Rev. Canon Simpson, of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Mr. Robert Whyte.

Sir Henry Lunn, Convener.

The actual membership of the Committee did not fully represent the strong feeling which existed in Free Church circles against the Bill of 1909. Several men holding high official positions in the Free Churches, who did not join the Committee, expressed to me their strong sympathy with my endeavour, and their desire to dissociate themselves from any intention to divert from religious purposes funds which had been dedicated to such purposes by their donors.

On the other hand, the suggestion made by the Bishop of Hereford that the money taken from the Welsh Church should be divided *pro rata* among the Nonconformist denominations was absolutely intolerable to all Free Churchmen whom I knew personally. They were not prepared to justify the charge that they were seeking the spoliation of a branch of the Church of Christ for the benefit of their own communions.

Just before the first meeting of the Committee an important manifestation of feeling occurred. The Church of Scotland had laid down its reunion proposals for the consideration of the United Free Church, on the basis of the retention by the United Church of Scotland of all its endowments, and the obtaining from Parliament of powers which would liberate the Church in certain important respects from the control of the State. Eighteen years earlier I had presided at a Conference to discuss Presbyterian reunion, in which the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, the Moderator of the United Presbyterian Church, and Professor Lindsay of the Free Church of Scotland were the principal speakers. At that date it would have seemed entirely impossible that the Church of Scotland would ever make such proposals as have since been laid down for the consideration of the Free Church, or that the proposal for the Church of Scotland to retain endowments while rejecting State control would ever be tolerated by the Disestablished communions.

This was only one instance of the direction in which thought had moved since the days when Edward Miall was carrying on his Disendowment campaign. It was another remarkable sign of the times that at the previous annual meeting of the National Free Church Council a resolution was carried in favour of the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church without one word being mentioned with respect to Disendowment. If there had been any strong convictions on the part of Nonconformists that the funds of the Welsh

Church should be taken from the objects to which they are devoted, such a conviction would certainly have found expression in this large, representative, and powerful assembly of Free Churchmen.

I knew from high official authority that the proposal to include Disendowment in this resolution would not only have gravely divided the meeting, but might also have brought about a serious division in the Free Church life of the whole country.

The situation in a sentence was this. We Liberals were using our party machinery to carry through a measure for which there was no strong demand from any but the Welsh extremists, and which was directly contrary to the feeling of that large body of voters which represents the Church of England.

The first meeting of this Committee took place on the 21st of December, 1911, to consider: (1) What amount of endowments Churchmen would insist on retaining under a Disestablishment Bill; (2) if there were to be a compromise, what form should the compromise take, and (3) the need of securing freedom of action for the Disestablished Church as regarding union with the province of Canterbury.

The last meeting took place on May 11th, 1912, when a memorial was drafted and signed by all the members of the Committee excepting the Dean of Lincoln, the Rev. S. O. Baumgarten, the Rev. Dr. Campbell Morgan, and the Rev. J. F. Bradley.

The memorial was in the following terms:

"The members of the Welsh Disestablishment Conciliation Committee, whilst differing among themselves as to the justice of Disestablishment and Disendowment, welcome those features of the present Bill which show greater consideration to the Church in Wales than previous measures have done. At the same time they urge the Government to modify the Bill in the following directions:

"(1) That so far as tithe rent charge is concerned, the principles of commutation and compounding of life interests in the Act for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church be followed.

"(2) That all glebe and other lands now in the possession of the Church in Wales remain the property of the Church after Disestablishment.

"(3) That all property acquired out of accumulated income since 1662 remain the property of the Disestablished Church.

"(4) That the precedent of the Irish Church Act be followed with reference to the churchyards, provided always that equality of use is secured to all parishioners.

"(5) That adequate provision for the reasonable protection of the interests of assistant curates be provided in the Bill."

The Conciliation Committee's deputation was received on Wednesday afternoon, June 19, 1912, by the Prime Minister, the Home Secretary, and Mr. Ellis Griffith. The Bishop of Oxford explained briefly the basis of the Conference.

The Rev. J. Scott Lidgett said that he spoke for a considerable body of Free Churchmen who were most anxious that the task of the Church in Wales should not be made unreasonably difficult in the near future. They were anxious that while the principle of Disendowment should be carried out, it should be interpreted with reasonable elasticity. When there was a doubt, the Church should have the benefit of the doubt. Alderman Sir James Duckworth spoke of the damage which would be inflicted upon the growing feeling of Church unity if this drastic measure were carried.

Mr. Asquith in replying said: "The present proposals differ, I think I may say widely, from those for which nearly twenty years ago I was responsible when I was Home Secretary, and whatever difference there is between the proposals of to-day and of that time is in the direction of liberality. I quite agree with Dr. Scott Lidgett that generosity is not a proper term to apply to an endeavour to secure equity for those who are engaged in the work of the Church. As I said, in speaking in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Bill, and have said more than once outside, we are most anxious to listen to, and so far as is consistent with the general objects and purposes of the Bill, to give effect to considerations in that direction.

"I quite agree with what Dr. Scott Lidgett said that the Irish Church—and that is the governing precedent in this matter—was a richer body than the Welsh Church, in proportion to the population, at the time of Disestablishment, and had a smaller percentage of adherents, and that, though I do not lay so much stress upon this, it had not made the same headway as the Anglican Church in Wales to overtake the arrears in the years immediately preceding Disestablishment. This ought to be taken into account; it determines the method to be pursued here, and you suggested that in two respects at any rate, that is, under the headings 1 and 5, we are dealing less liberally or equitably, if you like the word better, in the case of Wales than Ireland. I promise that we will give a most careful consideration to what you have urged upon these two points.

"The Parliamentary grants stand on a footing of their own, and they are not mentioned in your memorandum.

"We will consider these two points, and I cannot say anything more upon them but that my colleagues and I will take very careful consideration of what you have said, and give full weight to the points you have brought before us. I can only repeat what I said at the outset—that our desire is that this measure, which we believe to be called for by considerations of high policy, and which is in strict accordance with democratic principles, should be carried out with the minimum of hardship, and without any injustice to the existing interests, and above all to the spiritual interests of the Church. There is no one more sincerely desirous than I am that the operation shall be carried through on these lines and in this spirit."

Mr. McKenna then discussed various financial points with the delegation, and after an expression of thanks to the

Prime Minister, Mr. McKenna, and Mr. Ellis Griffith for their reception, the Committee withdrew.

The members of the Conference, after the reception, expressed themselves as greatly pleased with the manner in which the Prime Minister had received their recommendations, and there was strong hope that considerable results would follow.

The Conciliation Committee had done all in its power to convince the Government that a large and influential number of members of the Church of England and the Free Churches were prepared to meet on a basis of compromise.

So far as Disendowment was concerned, those who joined the deputation to the Prime Minister agreed to leave the Church in Wales in possession of all its glebe and other lands, and, so far as tithe rent charge was concerned, to allow the principles embodied in the Act for the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland to be followed. The Prime Minister had recognised in his reply to our deputation that in this respect the Government were dealing "less liberally or equitably, if you like the word better, in the case of Wales than Ireland." He promised most careful consideration to what had been urged on these two points. Unfortunately the exigencies of the political situation, and the pressure on the Government of the situation in Ireland, added to the uncompromising attitude of Welsh Nonconformist Members of Parliament, prevented any material modification of the Bill in these respects.

The long Parliamentary struggle of 1912 yielded little to those who shared the views of our Committee, and the Bill was slightly modified, but not materially altered.

Many of us felt very unhappy about the course matters were pursuing, but our loyalty to the Government prevented us taking any further action. When war was declared in August, 1914, the whole situation was changed, and in order to achieve the unity of the whole Kingdom, the Government agreed to a Suspensory Act for both the Home Rule and the Welsh Church Acts, which had just been passed, but had not yet come into operation.

Unhappily Mr. McKenna failed to realise how entirely diverse were the effects of the Suspensory Act on the Home Rule Act and on the Welsh Church Act, and how strong was the feeling excited in Churchpeople by this injustice. Lord Crewe had expressed strong sympathy with the Church in the House of Lords, and the Prime Minister had made a corresponding statement in the House of Commons, but nothing was actually done to mitigate what the Archbishop in the House of Lords, with justice, called "a grievous wrong . . . largely due to a misunderstanding."

The only protest, as far as I am aware, that appeared in the Press was made in the *Methodist Times* by Dr. Scott Lidgett, who urged that the Government were treating the Welsh Church with a harshness which they did not show to the Ulster opponents of Home Rule. The country generally did not understand what had happened, and believed that the two measures, the Home Rule Act and the Act for Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church in Wales, were placed on the same basis. This was by no means the case.

In November, 1914, a correspondent in *The Times* revealed to me, in common, I believe, with the majority of the readers of that paper, the difference in the effect of the Suspensory Act upon the Home Rule Act and the Welsh Church Act. I accordingly drafted a letter which, after a month's consideration, I issued in the first week of January, 1915, to the ministers and official laymen of the Free Churches. In this I said:

"I wish now, entirely on my own responsibility, to submit to Free Churchmen a question much more extended than the purpose of the Conciliation Committee." The question was, whether at a time when our nation had raised in one week three hundred and fifty millions to carry on the war against Germany, we were prepared for a capital sum of less than two millions to cripple and weaken the work of the Welsh Church in its war against the forces of evil. It seemed to me that there could only be one answer to this question, and therefore, after weeks of reflection, I had decided to ask the ministers and official laymen of the Free Churches of Great Britain to join with me in appealing to the Ministers of State that they should immediately introduce such necessary modifications into the Act as "shall liberate the Welsh Church from State patronage and control" without depriving her of a penny of her heritage from the past.

With this letter I enclosed the following memorial:

"To the RIGHT HON. H. H. ASQUITH, M.P.,—We, the undersigned, respectfully appeal to you as the Head of His Majesty's Government, in view of the great economic and financial pressure resulting from the war, felt by citizens of all religious communions, and amongst them by members of the Welsh Church, to bring before the Houses of Parliament such modifications of the Act for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church in Wales, as shall involve the repeal of all those clauses which deprive the Church of any of its temporalities."

I received about 1,500 signatures, including some that were received after the memorial had been forwarded to Mr. Asquith.

A little later the Duke of Devonshire introduced into the House of Lords a second Suspensory Bill, the object of which was to make the Irish and Welsh measures the same. Thereupon I issued a second letter on the 11th of February in which I referred to Dr. Scott Lidgett's statement that the Act dealt much more harshly with the Church in Wales than it did with the Irish Church. It only postponed the disendowment until the 18th September, 1915, or the end of the war, whichever should be the later date. Already poor parishes, in which the incumbent had died since the war began, were carrying on their work under conditions of great financial difficulty; and the Church in Wales was condemned at once to make arrangements for dealing with the situation unless Parliament intervened.

The result of this appeal was about 2,000 signatures in all, of which 1,389 were sent in to the Prime Minister previous to the first date fixed for the discussion of the Duke of Devonshire's measure, which was within about a week of the issue of the memorial.

The persistence with which Mr. McKenna maintained a position contrary to that laid down by the Prime Minister in September, 1914, is sufficiently indicated by a letter which he wrote on the 21st of January, 1915, as an acknowledgment of a resolution sent to him in which the Monmouthshire Presbytery at Pontnewynydd protested "against Sir Henry Lunn's interference with the Welsh Church Act." Mr. McKenna's letter was as follows:

"DEAR SIR,—I have great pleasure in acknowledging the resolution you sent me on behalf of the Monmouthshire Presbytery adopted at the meeting held on 14th January, at Bethania Chapel, Bargoed.

"I entirely agree with the conclusion to which the Presbytery have come, that there should be no interference with the Welsh Act.—Yours faithfully,

"R. MCKENNA."

Mr. McKenna, to adopt a famous historical phrase, had "forgotten Asquith." He had failed to realise that the Prime Minister would not allow his pledge of 15th September, 1914, to be twice disregarded by one of his Cabinet. The Welsh Nonconformists, in the Press and in church meetings, had vehemently affirmed that the question was closed and condemned the reopening of it.

Notwithstanding the attitude of the Welsh Party, the Government decided that they must bow to public opinion in view of this demonstration of the attitude of the English Nonconformists. A conference took place between members of the Cabinet and statesmen who afterwards joined the Coalition Government, and it was decided that the views of the later memorialists should be met.[1]

On March 6th, 1915, Mr. Lloyd George followed up this private conference with a speech in the House of Commons, in which, amongst other things, he said:

"I have received telegrams and letters from Wales. The Welsh people, for the moment, do not understand the proposal of the Government. What is that proposal, and what has prompted us to make it? . . . Under those conditions I appeal to my countrymen, not merely here, but outside, and what I say to my friends here I am prepared to say to any assembly of Welshmen in Wales. I say if you will not give six months' respite to the people under these conditions, then you are not an honour to the race to which they and I belong. . . . If the country wants repeal, the fact of its being on the statute book six months will not make much difference, if any. What will make a difference will be the temper in which the House considers the Bill . . . but if you want to create a public opinion and atmosphere that will help them, the way to do this is to refuse to deal generously, fairly, equitably, and in a large way with topics of this kind. . . . I am as attached to my little country as any man in this House, and I am looking forward to Wales getting something out of this war. It is her greatest opportunity. She has shown up to the present what she can do. There are 80,000 men who volunteered in a country which is as anti-militarist as any portion of the Empire. Our countrymen who have gone have fought as bravely as any others in this Empire, and that is a high standard. Yes, but she will have to show more. She will have to show that she is prepared not merely to take her part, but that there is nothing mean and small in the way she faces a great situation. One hundred thousand pounds more, is it? What is the value of that to the credit of our country? That is the computation. I do not believe it, but take it at that. You will get more in the credit and honour of Wales, in the fact that our country has behaved with dignity in the great hour that has come to it."

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[1] This conference, of which I was aware at the time it took place, was referred to by Lord Robert Cecil on March 15th, 1915 (" Parl. Proceedings," vol. lxx., col. 1,786), when he referred to "a discussion between the leaders of the Government and members of the Opposition."

This decision of the Government, expressed by Mr. Lloyd George's speech, was a complete vindication of the action which I had taken.

It may now be permissible to say a few words with reference to the complaint which has been repeated with painful iteration by Welsh Free Church Councils and Nonconformist meetings, condemning the action of the Free Church leaders of the Conciliation Committee and my own later action as gratuitous "meddling." Since when have English Nonconformists shrunk from the duty of "meddling" when they believed that anywhere beneath the sun evil was being wrought?

A line had been drawn in this Act at 1662. Are Welsh Free Churchmen so influenced to-day by the Act of Uniformity that they would draw the line at "meddling" from the time when Cromwell raised his voice and Milton wrote his impassioned lines on behalf of the Waldenses? Were John Bright and the Free Churchmen during the American Civil War mistaken "meddlers" when they held that grave moral issues transcend the bounds of nationality, that:

> "In the gain or loss of one race
> All the rest have equal claim"?

Were the fathers of the Free Churchmen of to-day mistaken when they "meddled" in expressing their sympathy with their great co-religionists John Brown, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Henry Ward Beecher?

Were they "meddling" when they supported Gladstone in his protest against King Bomba's cruelty, the Bulgarian outrages, and in the last protest of his great career against the Armenian atrocities and "Abdul the Damned"?

The obligation to "meddle" in the affairs of the Free Churches in Wales is inherent in the constitution of the different Free Church Communions.

The Congregational Union is entitled "The Congregational Union of England and Wales." Welshmen individually have an equal voice and equal vote with Englishmen in that assembly. The Baptist Union is entitled "The Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland," and here again there is no division between England and Wales.

The Congregationalists have also "A Union of Welsh Independents," formed in 1872, having for its object "the promotion of fraternal relations among the Churches, and among church members, to afford opportunities for deliberation concerning the public affairs of the denomination, and to exhort one another in things relating to the prosperity of the Kingdom of Christ." The membership of "The Union of Welsh Independents is open to ministers, deacons, and other members of a Congregational church—whether in England or Wales—who contribute 5s. annually towards the expense of the Union, or to a minister or a delegate of a Congregational church which contributes 5s. annually towards the same object."[1]

It may be argued, both in the case of the Congregational and Baptist Unions, that, although the centralising tendency of the day causes certain powers to be virtually inherent in them, yet they are really voluntary meetings of church pastors, and have no legislative control over the churches represented.

This does not apply to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. It is supreme over the whole of the denomination in Great Britain and the Mission Stations, and has greater powers than any clerical body outside the College of Cardinals. The whole patronage of the Church is vested in the

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[1] Report of the Welsh Church Committee, p. 32.

Conference. It controls all questions of discipline, decides the doctrine of the Church and the interpretation of its formularies from year to year. The Wesleyan Methodist Annual Conference of 1905 sanctioned the creation of a representative but strictly subordinate body to be called "The Welsh Wesleyan Methodist Assembly of Wales." The President of the British Conference attends and presides over the assembly, and is accompanied by certain other officials of the supreme governing body.

The Wesleyan Methodist representative, speaking on behalf of Wesleyan Methodism before the Welsh Commission, affirmed the unity of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the most unequivocal terms. He said: "The separation of the Welsh Wesleyan Methodist Conference from the British Annual Methodist Wesleyan Conference would be disastrous to us in Wales. We get such help from them." The Secretary of the Free Church Council made a similar statement with regard to that body. He said that nothing but good could come of the union of England and Wales in one solid force. Wales often needed English backing, and England Welsh backing. What was wanted in the Church was a great, solid, unmistakable force for both England and Wales.

It is a striking fact that the Free Church Council representing English and Welsh Nonconformists should, whilst preventing the establishment of a separate Free Church Council for Wales, have supported at that very time the forcible separation of the four Welsh dioceses from the Anglican Church of England and Wales, clean contrary to the earnest wishes of the members of the Church both in Wales and England. They resisted the claim of their own communions to a separate organisation, but wished to impose separation on the Welsh dioceses from the English by Act of Parliament.

Free Churchmen feel that it is necessary to the complete efficiency of their Council that it should represent both England and Wales, and for that reason they have given the policy of the Welsh Nonconformists a support in the Council which otherwise it would not have secured.

There is no single Free Church community which may be said to be conterminous with Wales and to limit itself to Welsh organisations. Even the Annual Conference of the Calvinistic Methodists, according to their Year Book of 1915, met in London in that year, and in 1911 met in Liverpool. The principal offices of the Welsh Calvinistic Foreign Missionary Society are situated in England, and there is a special Presbytery of Lancashire and Cheshire which is united with Flintshire and Denbighshire.

It is, therefore, evident from these facts how complete is the union between English and Welsh Free Churchmen. If this be so and proposals are introduced avowedly in the interests of Welsh Free Churchmen, which are, in the opinion of a large body of Christians in the Church of England, "unjust, unfair, and even sacrilegious," it is not a question of gratuitous "meddling"; it is a question of the imperative duty of meddling, and every English Free Churchman ought to realise his duty in the matter, and express his convictions.

The importance of the subject in its relation to the main object of this volume—the promotion of Christian unity—has necessitated so large an amount of space being given to it. There is nothing more important in the endeavour to arrive at that unity which all good men hold to be essential at the present crisis, than that we should have done with this struggle about temporalities. The struggle will not be over now if this Act be carried into force. There will then be the conviction in the minds of all members of the Church of England that the temporalities of the Establishment in England are threatened, and the bitterness will be intensified in proportion to the magnitude of the sum at stake.

There will be many who will say: "Why should Free Churchmen interfere now? The Act is carried; let it come into effect or let Churchmen undertake its repeal." It matters everything to us of the Free Churches whether we are privy to the confiscation of this sum or not. The matter is one of high import to the future of religion in England. We can strengthen this root of bitterness by carrying out the Act. We can destroy the bitterness for ever by restoring this sum to the Church.

What does a sum like two millions matter to the nation? Why should we weaken the work of a number of good men in Wales for such a paltry stake? If the estimate of one of our wealthy men be true, that Wesleyan Methodists in ten years before the war saved one hundred millions, the additional savings of those ten years of the whole of the Free Churches, especially if we include Scottish Presbyterians, must have represented more than treble that sum. Shall we, for such a fraction of our accumulated wealth, the amount expended by us every eight hours in the present war, take such action as at least shall be believed to be "sacrilegious and oppressive" by many devoted men in the Church of England?

But that is not the main question before us. The question is: what will be the effect upon those with whom we ought now to be united in our attack upon evil? With a great sum our fathers obtained their freedom. For three centuries Free Churchmen have suffered the loss of financial emoluments, social dignity, the prizes of society, and the esteem of the world, that they might be free to win the world for Christ by those methods and in that manner which their conscience dictated. Our fathers in the faith went out not knowing whither they went. Shall we retain the form of their heritage and sacrifice its spirit? There are within the Church of England a number of men who are seeking that liberty which we enjoy. Many of them are men to whom temporalities count little. Nevertheless if we compel them to sacrifice their endowments as the price of spiritual freedom, we shall hamper those to whom such prizes do not count, in their struggle after the spiritual realities which they desire.

From the trials and difficulties of the present moment there comes an urgent call to the unity of all the Churches. The disendowment of the Church in Wales is one great barrier to this movement. An infinitely greater one will be the disendowment of the Church of England. It is possible for us now to rise to the occasion and to declare that, for the sake of unity and for the sake of justice, we will do our best to secure the immediate restoration to the Church of those funds of which the Welsh Act is in danger of depriving her.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE BISHOPS AND THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CONFERENCE (1917)

Gradual Separation of Methodists from the Church of England—Growing Sense of the Evils of Division—Initiative of the Bishop of London—World-wide Methodism—Attitude to the Church of England—The Wesleyan Conference—The "Platform"—The "Floor"—Speeches of the Bishops of London and Chelmsford—How is Unity to be achieved?—Re-ordination Proposals Unacceptable—Need for Patience and Charity—Suggestion by the Bishop of Lincoln.

A serious clergyman desired to know in what points we differed from the Church of England. I answered, "To the best of my knowledge, in none. The doctrines we preach are the doctrines of the Church of England; indeed the fundamental doctrines of the Church, clearly laid down, both in her prayers, Articles and Homilies." He asked, "In what points, then, do you differ from the other clergy of the Church of England?" I answered, "In none from that part of the clergy who adhere to the doctrines of the Church."—John Wesley, 1739.

I never had any design of separating from the Church; I have no such design now. I do not believe the Methodists in general design it, when I am no more seen. I do, and will do, all that is in my power to prevent such an event.—John Wesley, 1789.

Happy is he that attains the character of a peacemaker in the Church of God. Why should not you labour after this? Be not content, not to stir up strife; but do all that in you lies to prevent or quench the very first spark of it. Indeed it is far easier to prevent the flame from breaking out than to quench it afterwards. However, be not afraid to attempt even this; the God of peace is on your side. He will give you acceptable words, and send them to the heart of the hearers. *Noli diffidere, noli discedere,* says a pious man; *fac quod in te est; et Deus aderit bonæ tuæ voluntati:* "Do not distrust Him that has all power, that has the hearts of all men in His hand. Do what in thee lies, and God will be present, and bring thy good desires to good effect." Never be weary of well-doing: In due time thou shalt reap if thou faint not.—John Wesley, "Sermon on Schism."

THE visit of the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Chelmsford to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1917 was an event in the movement towards unity which no historian of the religious influences of this period will hereafter find it possible to ignore, and I was glad that I had the privilege of being a member of the Conference on this occasion.

It is necessary, in order to understand the meaning and importance of this visit, to say something of the relation of Methodism to the Church of England after the death of Wesley. This event was followed by a gradual drift away from the Church for the next hundred years, although the influence of Hugh Price Hughes and the younger ministers of to-day has done something to restore to Methodism the consciousness of its rightful place in the Universal Church, and its claim to the full Catholic heritage.

John Wesley's statement, "I firmly believe that I am a scriptural *episcopos* as much as any man in England," and his action on September 1st, 1784, in consecrating Thomas Coke to the episcopate for the work in America and ordaining Thomas Vasey and Richard Whatcoat first as deacons and then as full ministers, were definite steps in separation from the Church of England, although he did not thus intend it. Charles Wesley realised the importance of the action and wrote:

"How easily now are Bishops made
By man or woman's whim!
Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid,
But who laid hands on him?"

Coke and his colleague Asbury, in Christmas week, 1784, at Baltimore, in a general Conference laid the foundations of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America. At that Conference, Wesley's abridgment of the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church and his revised Prayer Book with forms for Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the ordination of the "three distinct offices in the ministry of an episcopally constituted church," were formally accepted. American Methodism now includes in its adherents about a quarter of the population of the United States.

In Great Britain Wesley moved more slowly, but in the later years of his life he ordained—mainly, but not altogether for Scotland—twenty-three other men in addition to the ordinations for America. His ordinations in 1789 of Alexander Mather, Henry Moore, and others, were definitely for work in England, though so little did he realise the divisive effect of his action that they were ordained "to administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England."

Wesley died on March 2nd, 1791, and the Conference, confronted with the problem of its relation to the Sacraments, decided with a naive irony, "We engage to follow strictly the plan which Mr. Wesley left us." What that plan was no human ingenuity could define.

Here was the golden opportunity for the Church of England. If the English Bishops had then urged their clergy to welcome Methodists to Holy Communion, Methodism might have remained a Society within the Church of England. The Anglican Bishops made no sign, and the local clergy showed themselves less willing than ever to welcome Methodists to the Lord's Table.

For three years Methodism was agitated by this question, and in 1795 the Plan of Pacification on the question of the administration of the Lord's Supper by Wesleyan ministers was carried, giving each local society the power of decision with the special provisions which still showed the longing of the Methodists to maintain their connection with the Established Church: "The Lord's Supper shall be always administered in England according to the form of the Established Church: It shall never be administered on those Sundays on which it is administered in the parochial church."

Once Methodism had thus accepted the position of an organisation outside the Church of England, there were many influences which tended rapidly to widen the breach. The Conventicle Act of Charles II., fining anyone who attended a "meeting for religion other than according to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England," and the Five Mile Act, which prohibited preaching by dissenters within five miles of a parliamentary borough, were only repealed in 1812. During the years 1791—1812 the community of interest with the dissenters thus created led Methodism far from Wesley's intention concerning it. "Nevertheless, it was very reluctantly that the fathers of Methodism identified themselves with dissent, even for the removal of these disabilities. Long years after Wesley's death Coke had not abandoned the idea of dying in the bosom of his mother Church; and Adam Clark—the great commentator of that day—declared, in the hearing of many distinguished members of the University of Cambridge, that he was " a member and a minister of the Church of England." Benson, another great commentator and President of the Conference, published this statement without correction or explanation in the Connexional magazine.

The most powerful influence in the early nineteenth century in establishing Methodism as a distinct denomination with its own ministry ordained by the laying on of hands, was that of Dr. Jabez Bunting, the grandfather of my co-editor, Sir Percy Bunting. His ministry covered the years 1799—1854, but the period from 1814, when he was elected to "The Legal Hundred," the supreme body in the Methodist Constitution, to his fourth Presidency of the Conference in 1845, was the time when his influence fixed and defined the Methodist Constitution.

In 1818 the prefix "Reverend" was formally authorised. Bunting then proposed that ordination should be by the imposition of hands, rather than as hitherto merely by a solemn vote and the lifting of the hands of the presbystery, but he was defeated. Ordination by the laying on of hands was again proposed when he was President in 1822, but the resolution was withdrawn. In 1828 he was again President of the Conference and dealt with the subject, but without result. On his third election to the Presidency in 1836, a resolution was carried with but two dissentients, on which resolution his son and biographer thus comments:

"So at last the rightful claim of Methodist preachers to ministerial orders, and their competency to confer them, were formally acknowledged and ratified; as among themselves and their people it will never be disputed again, doubt it who may."[1]

It is interesting to those who attach great importance to the "cable theory" of an unbroken apostolical succession to note that a Presbyterian succession is still traced by some ministers back to Wesley's action in the matter. Wesley ordained Thomas Squance. Thomas Squance, whose family is well known in Sunderland, ordained Charles H. Kelly, who was President of the Conference in 1891, and Kelly assisted at the ordination of most of the candidates for the last ten years of the century. Through other channels the same succession can be traced by those who value it.

So great was the ecclesiastical power of Dr. Bunting that, in the Methodist schism of 1849, W. Everett, the leader of the Reform Movement, wrote angrily of him, "He is great in mind and great in influence—too great to be forgiven."

William Arthur, afterwards President of the Conference, thus summed up in Bunting's defence his work for Methodism:

"Dr. Bunting has given to Methodism all the ordinances of a Church complete in itself, so removing it from the position of a supplement to the Establishment. The opening of colleges for the training of the ministry; the use of imposition of hands in ordination; and the placing of the various Connexional funds on permanent bases, all directly tended to give Methodism a position wholly independent."[2]

During this period the Church of England did nothing to prevent her daughter leaving home and founding a separate establishment, but did much to drive her forth. The saintly Mrs. Fletcher, widow of that pre-eminent saint of early Methodism—Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley—was refused the Holy Communion in her husband's own church after his death. This kind of incident happened in very many cases all over England. The Bishops looked on without the faintest disapproval, whilst peer, squire, and parson poured hatred and contempt upon the Methodist "fanatics."

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[1] "Life of Jabez Bunting," by his Son, p. 518.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 710.

It was not until the Oxford Movement had become a power in the land that any suggestion of the evil of this division came from the Anglican leaders. In 1868 Dr. Pusey made his famous overtures referred to in the chapter on Hugh Price Hughes (pp. 49-50). It was no mere accident that Hughes, as a student at college, should have so sternly rebuked his seniors for their churlish response to Pusey's advances.

No doubt the lines from *Punch,* which I quoted in referring to Hughes's early letter in the *Spectator,* express the present sentiments of a large number of Wesleyan Methodists. But even in this contented and united brotherhood—which sometimes suffers dangerously from self-complacency—there has grown up a sense of the evils of division. Hugh Price Hughes did not live in vain, and although the result of his work for the moment is more apparent in the Federation of the Free Churches, yet his passionate devotion to the Catholic ideal of unity has left a real impress on modern Methodism.

These considerations gave a unique importance to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference which on July 19th, 1917, welcomed the two Bishops.

The Bishops assembled in Conference at Lambeth had decided that the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Chelmsford should represent them in definite overtures for unity to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference.

It is difficult to make a non-Methodist understand the power and influence of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. With perfect truth Hughes used to dwell, as I have said already, upon the fact that no ecclesiastical body outside of the College of Cardinals wielded such despotic and unquestioned power. It controls the doctrine, the finance, the patronage, the discipline, and all the varied activities of Wesleyan Methodism for the year next following.

On one occasion when I was present, the Rev. F. W. Macdonald, at that time professor at one of our theological colleges, was transferred by the act of the Conference, without consulting him, from a theological professorship to the position of Wesleyan Missionary Secretary. As he himself told me, he learned of this appointment when travelling with his nephew, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, from a paragraph in a newspaper which he picked up in a Y.M.C.A. in the West of America.

This is only one of many illustrations that might be given of the powers of this assembly.

The Conference is divided into two parts, the "Platform" of officials and the "Floor," which is not burdened with the responsibilities of office. The "Platform" consists of those who magnify it, and those whom it magnifies. Of the former number are certain eminent ex-Presidents who arrive at this distinction by force of intellect, statesmanship, culture, or pre-eminent saintliness. Sometimes it happens that a man may be said to be born to become a President. From his cradle onwards his friends predict for him this supreme distinction, and such is the reverence for the Methodist Presidents in their communion that as he advances in years he develops the dignity, and in some cases the dogmatic orthodoxy, unimpeachable and ever ready to impeach, of the typical Archbishop of the Nonconformist imagination.

The "Platform" also includes Presidents who have arrived at that position because they have been skilful secretaries of Conference committees and of the Conference itself, or in other ways have shown mastery of detail, a sense of the psychological moment for intervention in debate, and an appreciation of what is the exact resultant of the forces agitating the mind of the Conference. Other officials unduly strengthen a body which has the same petrifying, stereotyping, and fossilising influence upon the assembly which created it, and permits its continuance, that would be exerted on the House of Commons if every ex-Minister sat with the present Ministry on a raised dais behind the Speaker's chair commanding the House.

For such reasons Hughes and other reforming spirits had said that after their year of office they would return to the "Floor"; but as in Dante's vision, so on the front of the Conference platform one can read the words, "All hope abandon ye who enter here." There is no return to the irresponsibility of the "Floor."

It was the "Floor" alone that was responsible for the visit of the Bishops. The "Platform" was entirely outside of the preliminary arrangements and knew nothing of the earlier negotiations. It is true that the majority of the group of about twenty young ministers who arranged the visit will ultimately reach the "Platform," but they are not there yet. They may accomplish a great deal before that day arrives.

Dean Farrar used to say to me in my editorial days, when a new Bishop was appointed, "Every Bishop gets 'mitral disease.'" We have no mitres as yet in Methodism, but our Presidents have, in common with the Bishops, each a mitral valve of the heart, and any weakness of that mechanism is serious.

On the other hand, the young men who responded to the Bishop of London's sermon on Reunion with Methodism by suggesting that they should meet him are heart whole, and the Methodism of the next two decades will be largely moulded by them. Benjamin Gregory, who first spoke to the Bishop suggesting this visit, is the grandson and the son of four Methodist preachers, and J. E. Rattenbury, the Superintendent of the West London Mission, of two. J. Alfred Sharp, who directs the Methodist Publication Department, is technically an official, but is not yet on the "Platform." Henry Carter, that brilliant exponent of young Methodism, is in a similar position.

These four, and some sixteen others, met the Bishop of London at London House one afternoon, and suggested that he should come and address the Conference which was about to meet.

The adoption of the words "The Wesleyan Methodist Church" by the Bishop, ensured the success of his speech. A short time before I had written to a Bishop whom I had known intimately for twenty years pointing out that it was useless for him and other Bishops to write letters of courtesy to the Wesleyan Methodist "Body." Even a Scotsman does not like—I told the Bishop—to be called a "body," and his plea that the Church was the Body of Christ was not quite a fair reply. The correct and courteous answer to this Bishop was that of Dr. Waddy Moss, who, as President, spoke in reply to such an address, in which the word "Body" had been used, and said: "Methodism used to regard herself as the daughter church of the Church of England. She now regards herself as the sister church."

When the Bishops frankly adopted this terminology it would be wrong to say that they came to Canossa, but they conceded as a matter of courtesy the right of Methodism to be styled one of the Christian churches, and thus accomplished a great act of reparation for the exclusion of Methodism from the Church in the past. Once that was granted, welcome by the Conference was assured. It was worth while for the Bishops to travel "a long, long way," to say those words for the sake of unity, and they deserve all honour for so doing.

The Bishop of London paid a well-merited tribute to one member of the Conference who bore an honoured name—Mrs. Price Hughes. He said that he wished most intensely to get into closer touch with a Church whose missionary zeal and reforming power were known throughout the world. He told an amusing story to illustrate how near he himself was to Methodism. At the end of one of his services in London a rich American came up to him and said, "I was quite at home in your service to-night, Bishop; I was brought up among the Wesleyans." He declared that he would like to ask the Conference whether in this great day of God it was a law of the Medes and Persians that the Church of England and the Wesleyan Church should always be separate. Without going into the mistakes of the past, it was worth while for them to see if they could not bury the hatchet. He concluded a very bold and powerful speech which carried the Conference a long way with him by saying, "I bring you officially a brotherly welcome from all my brother Bishops, and wish you Godspeed in your work."

The Bishop of Chelmsford was an excellent choice to second the Bishop of London's speech. He told the Conference that he had been brought up in a Methodist home. He was also trained for a while at a Methodist Theological College. He talked to the Conference like a brother Methodist. He declared that he and the Bishop of London were two of the biggest Methodists in London. He urged the Conference to search Wesley's sermons and see if they could find anything there not included in the teaching of the Church of England. He believed that the Church of England must approach this question as a prodigal, and the Methodist Church must also approach it as a prodigal. They had both made mistakes, and he would that both might come back to the Father's house, for the nation's sake, for the Church's sake, and for Christ's sake. Let them approach the question, not along the lines of theological discussion or of ecclesiastical polity, but upon their knees, simply saying, "Speak, Lord, for Thy servant heareth."

When the Bishop of Chelmsford finished, I am sure that all the Conference must have sympathised with my desire for ten minutes of the Welsh indiscretion and fervour of Hugh Price Hughes, or, failing that, Dr. Watkinson's gentle ironic raillery, Mr. Macdonald's literary charm and felicity of expression, or Dr. Scott Lidgett's statesmanship. This would have enabled Methodism worthily to answer the Christian utterances of those two prelates. But the real response has yet to come, and the Bishops can afford to wait.

The effect upon individual members of the Conference was interesting. A friend and contemporary of mine expressed to me, just before the Bishops spoke, his opinion that there was nothing likely to come of it. The whole movement was based, he said, on a theory of re-ordination, which was inadmissible. He was cold to the point of being irritated. When the Bishops had finished he was overcome with emotion, and wrote for the *Methodist Recorder* his description of the visit in these terms: "The Bishop spoke without any hesitation of the Wesleyan *Church* . . . the Conference heart was strangely warmed. The Bishop might have said what he would after that."

This is rather typical of the Conference, but after twenty-four hours their excellent emotions had cooled down, and the old suspicions asserted themselves. This enabled Sir Robert Perks, whose religious horizon is bounded by Methodist frontiers on east, west, north, and south, to carry a toning-down amendment to a generous resolution proposed by the Rev. H. A. Scott, and seconded by Mr. Walter Runciman.

Sir Robert Perks went as far as he did in an approach to courtesy to the Church of England because his belief in a policy of isolation for Methodism is so strong that a moderate reply to the Bishops answered his purpose by balancing the tendency to an alliance with the Free Churches. Years of political campaigning have given an unhappy twist to the ecclesiastical views of a layman who has done much good work for Methodism, for which he would almost "give his body to be burned."

The following is the resolution as amended:

"The Conference, in response to the addresses of the Bishops of London and Chelmsford, assures the Bishops that it will be ready at all times to co-operate with the Church of England and all other evangelical churches of the country in every endeavour for the furtherance of the Kingdom of Christ."

It was a poor, jejune response to an appeal full of Christian charity and desire for co-operation.

Underlying this resolution was the conviction in the minds of the ministers and laymen present that, however excellent might be the spirit which animated the speeches of those two Bishops, there was behind all the courtesies of the discussion a latent condition that re-ordination must be the basis of reunion, and on these terms Methodism was not prepared to "confer" with the Anglican Church.

To accept re-ordination for the sake of unity, in the opinion of the overwhelming majority (I hope my Anglican readers will bear this statement patiently) would be *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*. In our view, for I share the conviction, it would narrow for all future time the teaching of the Church respecting the channels of God's grace. Human nature being what it is, if the claims of an exclusive priesthood were granted in these small islands for the sake of peace, where Methodism is in a minority, what is to be the position of Methodism in America, where it is episcopal in form but without the "historic" succession, and numbers seven to one as compared with the American branch of the Anglican communion?[1] The Conference, consciously or unconsciously, is compelled to ask itself the question—are we to recognise the claims of the exclusive to become the universal? On the other hand, are we not bound, in view of the signal blessing which the God of all grace has bestowed upon the Methodist, Presbyterian, and other branches of the universal Church, to maintain the validity of their ministry? To our consciousness and in our experience God continues to give His message, and to convey the grace of the sacraments by many messengers called by Himself, and by the company of all faithful men in those spheres where they minister. We decline to limit our high conception of the

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[1] During the last twenty-five years *the increase* alone of communicants in American Methodism is over 2,800,000. The *total number* in this country of communicants in the Church of England (see the *Times*, July 6th, 1918) is to-day 2,337,612.

Church by any act or deed which now or henceforth would tend to cripple other workers faithfully carrying on God's work in the world.

These were excellent reasons for moving towards the goal of the Bishops with deliberation and care. They furnished no justification for any lack of the manifestation of cordiality and brotherly love.

When Peter was inspired by his vision and its teaching, "What God hath cleansed, that call thou not common," he obeyed the messengers who invited him to the house of the Roman centurion, "who gave much alms to the people and prayed to God alway." The response of Cornelius and his household on that occasion was the due recognition of the Apostle's spirit, "Thou hast well done that thou art come. Now, therefore, we are all here present in the sight of God to hear all things that have been commanded thee of the Lord." When the uncircumcised Gentiles received the Jewish teacher in this temper, it is no matter of surprise that while Peter yet spake, "the Holy Spirit fell on all those which heard." Confronted with such facts "they of the circumcision held their peace and glorified God."

To achieve the notable breaking down of the barriers between Jew and Gentile, the first great assertion of the catholicity of the Church, and of the universality of the message of Jesus, it was necessary that both parties to the transaction should be prepared by Divine revelation in dreams.

We are in great haste to-day to break down barriers, but there must be a preparation in spirit on both sides. Pride of Churchmanship is more equally distributed than we of the Free Churches are generally willing to recognise, and for God to work His will concerning us there must be a great humbling for all.

Let me illustrate my meaning. I was dining in Scotland three years ago with a High Church Bishop of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and he said to me with a smile, "I am a great believer in religious equality here. We are the underdog. The parish ministers take no stock in a Bishop." When the war broke out he went to a certain parish minister in his diocese and suggested that there should be a weekly intercession in the parish kirk as the largest church in the parish, and that he and the Established Presbyterian minister and the Free Church Presbyterian minister, and another dissenting minister should take the meeting once a month each. The minister replied, "Well, Bishop, I am quite willing to take it alternately with you, but I do not wish to alternate with the others."

We have not travelled far from the old spirit which separated Jew and Gentile, Roman and Barbarian, bond and free, and the real difficulty of an adequate response on the part of Methodism to the amicable addresses of the Bishops is that the country Methodist knows, by bitter experience, how little the message of the Bishops is echoed by the parish clergy. The clergy, like the early disciples, are "of the circumcision," and are in almost complete ignorance of the Cornelii of the twentieth century, on whom God is pouring out His spirit. They know too little of the way God is using what they deem to be an "invalid" ministry in England and America to preserve the spiritual life of the people. What is needed is, that just as Peter went from Cæsarea to Jerusalem and described to the Jewish members of the church the outgoing of the Holy Spirit upon the Gentiles, so the Bishops should bring home to their clergy the facts of life, the millions of communicants in the non-Episcopal Churches who are giving evidence of the power of the Divine Grace throughout the Anglo-Saxon world through a ministry whose orders they do not recognise, which, nevertheless, is being used in a thousand ways *ad majorem Dei gloriam.*

It is useless for prominent ministers and laymen to be welcomed as honoured guests in Episcopal palaces, chapter houses, and deaneries, if the vicar's door is never open to welcome a Methodist or a Baptist minister across his threshold.

None who have followed me so far through these pages will misunderstand my purpose if I relate here an incident which I mentioned at London House at the preliminary meeting to promote closer relations between the Church of England and Methodism.

In the year 1900 I was summoned home to attend the funeral of my youngest sister, who had lived an exemplary life, going about doing good amongst the villagers of West Ashby. My father's grounds surround the parish church on three sides, and he has always been on the friendliest terms with successive vicars, allowing them the use of a private footpath across his grounds to the church.

When I drove into the yard the groom said: "I am sorry to say that the vicar will not allow the bell to be tolled for Miss Amy, as the Wesleyan Ministers are conducting the funeral, but I am sexton and have the keys and I shall toll the bell." I said, "Certainly not, until I have obtained the vicar's permission."

I then walked across to the post office and telegraphed to the Bishop of Lincoln, and then went on to the Vicarage and said to the vicar, "My sister has lived an irreproachable life, visiting the infirm, the sick, and the dying. Why do you treat us like this in our sorrow?"

He replied, "I shall have to answer for this at the Judgment Day."

"No, you will not," I said; "I shall be there on that occasion and I will take the responsibility."

The bell was tolled.

Such incidents, however conscientious one may believe the vicar to have been, do not promote an atmosphere stimulating to unity. One thing is quite clear: if the Archbishop of Canterbury attends the Edinburgh Missionary Conference, and eminent Bishops speak in fraternal fashion of members of the Wesleyan Methodist "Church" at the London Conference, it is impossible for them to do other than insist to their clergy that they cannot treat the members of such conferences—either of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference or the Wesleyan Methodist Conference—as living in the open sin of schism.

The present year, with its insistent call for unity, demands a clear definition of our relative positions on many points. It is, therefore, the obvious duty of the Bishops authoritatively to instruct their clergy on these matters. If unity is to be advanced they must bid the clergy cultivate the graces of charity and brotherly love in all matters; and there are many in which no principle is sacrificed. And they must make it plain at what point the sacrifice of principle begins.

There must be a like crusade on the part of the leaders of the Free Churches. Bigotry is not confined to Romanists and High Churchmen. Arrogance and self-sufficiency are by no means the exclusive possession of the Establishment. The Free Churches must urge their people—ministers and members alike—to cultivate lowliness of mind, not esteeming themselves more than others, and accepting their position as fellow-servants of the whole body of the faithful.

After the Conference I visited the Bishop of Lincoln, with whom I had been in correspondence for some time on these questions. We discussed at length the way out of the present unsatisfactory relations of the two communions. The Bishop has given me his permission to say here that he would welcome Reunion on the basis of Methodism being united with the Church of England as the Franciscans, Dominicans, etc., are united with the Church of Rome. I raised at once the question of ordination, and on this point the Bishop said, "I am prepared for a recognition of Methodism as an order of the Church, leaving her to continue her self-government in the Conference, and her ministry for her own people as at present. But if any clergyman ministers in the chapel or churches of the Wesleyan order he must accept the discipline and regulations of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. Similarly if any Wesleyan minister takes part in the administration of the Holy Communion in our churches he must conform to our discipline, and be ordained by a Bishop before administering the sacrament in our churches."

Whether unity comes on the lines of Bishop Hicks's suggestion or in some other way, the Bishops at the Wesleyan Methodist Conference were "on the side of the angels." They were exponents, not merely of a *Zeitgeist*—the spirit of the moment—but what is infinitely more important, they were seeking to advance along the lines of the Divine purpose as expressed in the great intercessory prayer of the Master.

CHAPTER XXIV

FEDERATION AS A STEP TOWARDS UNITY

Variety the Test of Vitality—Perils of Ecclesiastical Uniformity—Warnings from the History of the Church of Rome—"The Balance of Power" *versus* "The League of Nations"—Federation based upon Equality—Federal Council of Churches in America—Its Constitution—Scope of its Action—List of Churches represented—Its Aim—Comparative Statistics of Membership—Position of the Eastern Churches.

"Each age of the Church must live its own life, and deal with its own problems, following to a great extent the lead of circumstances, which offer in fact a Divine guidance for the shaping of its course.—H. B. SWETE, D.D.

"The Catholic Church requires two principles for its development: one a principle of wild luxuriance, of spontaneous expansion and variation in every direction; the other a principle of order, restraint, unification, in conflict with the former, often overwhelmed by its task, always more or less in arrears."—GEORGE TYRRELL.

THE question that confronts those who are now working so hopefully for unity is how to combine it with liberty of development. We are surely justified in believing that variety is the test of vitality. Man with his rigid machinery may forge out of dead metal a thousand guns of the same calibre and power. But the Creator has made all living organisms to vary from one another. The markings of no two thumbs are alike. To the Western vision a thousand Chinamen are all alike—the same colour, the same high cheek-bones, the same almond eyes. But each Chinaman can distinguish at once every one of his fellows from the rest. Diversity is a manifestation of life.

Therefore we find diversities of opinion in all religious movements. Christianity has no monopoly of sects. Hinduism is divided into two great cults of Saivite and Vaishnavite, besides minor bodies. These two great divisions are subdivided into many sects. Mohammedanism has its Shiites and its Sonnites. Even the Neo-Buddhists, who regard Madame Blavatsky as their prophetess, have had their schism, and the same is true of the disciples of Mrs. Eddy. The Eastern Church is divided, by more than geographical boundaries, into the Russian Church, the Greek Church, and the Churches of Bulgaria, Armenia, etc. Even the Russian Church has its great Protestant body, "The Old Believers," numbering some ten millions, although they differ from Western Dissenters, because, as Dean Stanley points out, "They are dissenters on the most conservative principles which it is possible to conceive. They are Protestants, but against all reform. They are non-Jurors and Puritans both in one. . . . They regard the Established Church as Babylon, and the Emperor as the Great Dragon."[1]

No devoted member of the Church of Rome would wish to revert to the condition of the Church which existed prior to the great awakening—the Counter-Reformation of Loyola—which followed the protest of Erasmus, Luther, and Zwingli. Ranke tells us in his "History of the Popes" that at that period, "while the populace had sunk into almost heathen superstition, the higher classes were manifesting opinions of a tendency altogether anti-religious. The priests at the altar, at the moment when the sacrifice of the Mass was completed, uttered blasphemous words in denial of its reality."[2]

Ranke's testimony is also confirmed by Erasmus's picture of the Churchmen of his day, and by the heartbreaking experience which Martin Luther went through when he first visited Rome.

Let us contrast with the condition which preceded the Reformation the condition which followed it, and we shall see that even the disastrous divisions of the Reformation brought an infinite blessing to the Church whom they had deprived of so large a number of her followers.

[1] "Eastern Church."

[2] Ranke's "History of the Popes," vol. i., p. 58.

We find that in 1538 plans for the Reform of the Church were entertained by Paul III., the Monastic Orders were reformed, the Orders of the Theatines (contemplative), and Jesuits (active) were founded in 1524 and 1543 respectively, and Catholicism was reorganised by the Council of Trent. "By the Reformation struggle a new impulse had been received by Catholicism, and was acting vigorously in Rome and at the court of her Pontiff more especially. The Catholics held fast by all the original institutions, and determined only on renovating all and infusing increased energy, a more rigid severity, and a deeper earnestness of purpose into each." [1]

There is a grave peril to religion when a Church is sufficiently powerful in its practical uniformity to confine spiritual activities within the limits of worn ecclesiastical channels where discipline assumes a supremacy over doctrine and ultimately over truth itself. This peril revealed itself very early in the history of the Christian Church, in the letters of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, in which he deals with heresy. Speaking of these letters, Dean Milman says: "There appear the Roman strength and Roman respect for law, the imperial assertion of hierarchical despotism. Discipline becomes of equal importance with doctrine, and the unity of the Church is made to depend upon obedience to its outward polity. Rebellion to episcopal authority becomes as great a crime as erroneous opinion, schism as hateful as heresy. Within the pale of the Church under the lawful Bishop were Christ and salvation; without it the world of perdition. The faith of the heretic and schismatic was no faith, his holiness no holiness, his martyrdom no martyrdom." [2]

We must realise that under the pressure of such an ecclesiastical unity as that of Rome, the danger is ever present of losing the revelation of the truth to the soul, when it appears, for the time being, to conflict with existing conceptions of truth. Galileo, compelled by a tyrannical Inquisition to deny scientific facts which had become great realities to his master intellect, and yet murmuring in spite of all these inquisitorial powers, "It does move," and Giordano Bruno, suffering martyrdom in Rome because his demand for intellectual honesty, and therefore intellectual freedom, were three centuries in advance of the age in which they lived, strikingly illustrate this peril.

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[1] Ranke's "History of the Popes," vol. i., p. 78.

[2] Milman's "History of Latin Christianity," vol. i., p. 65.

Dr. Hatch, in his famous Bampton Lectures, has pointed out that ecclesiastical government tends to follow the political developments by which it is surrounded. Uniformity in the Roman Church was first enacted as a law by the Emperor Constantine the Great, who strove, as Dean Stanley points out, to carry out some scheme of comprehension which would include the Arians, and,[1] "when this failed he still pursued the same end, with the same tenacity, by the directly opposite means of enforcing uniformity, to us long familiar, but first introduced by him into the Church—the hitherto unknown practice of subscription to the articles of a written creed, and the infliction of civil penalties on those who refused to conform."

We are not likely to suffer from Imperial Acts of Uniformity in an Erastian Church again. The whole tendency of the age is against anything of the kind. The mediæval unity broke down when absolutism lost its place in the political life of the world. In the new political synthesis which will follow the war there is a call to new developments in the relations of the churches to each other.

Recent political analogies afford a grave warning to the non-Episcopal communions in their desire to seek unity amongst themselves that they may strengthen their own ecclesiastical position, balancing their power in the British State against the power of the Episcopal Church. This is to transfer to the spiritual realm that very condition of things which in the body politic before the present war led to such disastrous results under the name of the "Balance of Power." The attempt at a Balance of Power meant great armaments which ultimately led to conflict.

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[1] Stanley's "Eastern Church," "Everyman" ed., p. 206.

Every statesman shrinks to-day from any restoration of the *status quo ante* in this respect. There can be no security against war if the world at the end of this war remains in the condition of two armed camps. This is absolutely true of the religious world. It is this conviction that has led many members of the Wesleyan Conference to regard with apprehension the endeavours, however admirable the spirit which animates them, of Dr. Shakespeare, Dr. Horton, and other Free Church leaders, to form a federation of the Free Churches with executive powers which shall not include the clergy and members of the Establishment. To seek to organise the Free Churches into one great association which shall balance the power of the Establishment is not the pathway to peace, but to war.

In the political sphere a "more excellent way" is pointed out to us in the great utterances of President Wilson on the proposed "League of Nations." In his appeal for the realisation of this ideal he is in direct succession from his great fellow-countrymen, Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson. When they devised Federal Unionism they had made the greatest stride in history towards the Parliament of Man—the federation of the world. Conflicting colonies became federated and friendly peoples. To-day nearly fifty sovereign States live in perfect amity, only needing to call an army into being to assist in ending the conflict between the States of non-Federated Europe. Maine does not fear Massachusetts, nor Pennsylvania the State of New York. These facts have given additional force to the statements of President Wilson at this crisis.

The alliances of this great war furnish a suggestive illustration. In their determination to defeat the military tyranny of Germany, those ruled by monarchs in Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, and Japan have joined forces with the republicans of France and the United States, and have realised that unity of purpose expressed by a common military council was the way to victory.

This war has shown that whatever the cost in blood and treasure, in all the material things that make life worth living, no one man, be he called Cæsar, Tsar, Kaiser, or Imperator, shall ever dominate the world again.

According to the famous saying of Hobbes, the Papacy is only "the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof." Pope and Cardinals are the true successors in temper, method, and purpose—not of Christ and His Apostles—but of Cæsar and his Senate, and as the world will never again accept a Cæsar, neither will it place its neck beneath the yoke of an ecclesiastical despot.

History teaches us also that Republics may aspire to empire as well as individuals. Thucydides traces for us the development in the purpose of the Athenian Republic, of the desire for the *ἡγεμονία* (leadership) of the Greek States into the passion for *ἄρχη* (empire, domination, over-lordship).

This temper may also animate a religious society, and must be resisted if unity is to be achieved—"One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." Therefore we must approach this problem of unity in real lowliness of mind. There can be no success in any attempt to federate that is not based upon the recognition of equality between high contracting parties. These principles are not difficult of application, and will help us to achieve unity of purpose in the religious world.

The objection may be raised that it is a large assumption to argue that there are common objects which may be pursued by those who differ on fundamental ecclesiastical questions. It is clear that *a priori* there ought to be no obstacle to the combined working of all Christian men for certain great ends.

But we have not to depend upon *a priori* arguments in this matter. The experiment has been made on a considerable scale by what is known as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.[1] It only attempts a partial unity which is a stage of our journey, but it deserves careful study, as at least an advance in the right direction.

This Council dates from the year 1908. It differs from the Free Church Council of England in two vital particulars.

In the first place, it includes the Protestant Episcopal Church of America which is a branch of, and in full communion with, the Church of England; and, secondly, it is an officially and ecclesiastically constituted body elected by the different churches which constitute its membership. It is differentiated from other movements for the manifestation of Christian unity, in the fact that it is the co-operation of the various denominations for service rather than an attempt to unite them upon definitions of theology and polity.

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[1] Those who desire full particulars of this Society can obtain them on application to the Rev. Dr. Carroll, 156, Fifth Avenue, New York, as they are well worthy of the careful study of all who are interested in the closer union of Christian Churches.

The constitution declares that the following Christian communions shall be entitled to representation in this Federal Council on their approval of the purpose and plan of the organisation:

The Baptist Churches of the United States.
The General Conference of Free Baptists.
The National Baptist Convention (African).
The Christians (The Christian Connexion).
The Congregational Churches.
The Congregational Methodist Churches.
The Disciples of Christ.
The Evangelical Association.
The Evangelical Synod of North America.
The Friends.
The Evangelical Lutheran Church, General Synod.
The Methodist Episcopal Church.
The Methodist Episcopal Church (South).
The Primitive Methodist Church.
The Coloured Methodist Episcopal Church in America.
The Methodist Protestant Church.
The African Methodist Episcopal Church.
The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.
The General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America.
The Moravian Church.
The Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.
The Welsh Calvinistic Methodist or Presbyterian Church.
The Reformed Presbyterian Church.
The United Presbyterian Church.
The Protestant Episcopal Church.
The Reformed Church in America.
The Reformed Church in U.S.
The Reformed Episcopal Church.
The Seventh Day Baptist Churches.
The Swedish Lutheran Augustana Synod.
The United Brethren in Christ.
The United Evangelical Church.

It is interesting to note how many subjects there are which the founders of this remarkable Council have been able to include in the operations of the Council without interfering with the polity or autonomy of its constituent members. The work of the Council is carried on by commissions on the following important questions: Evangelism, Social Service, Christian Education, Temperance, International Justice and Goodwill, Church and Country Life, Interchurch Federations (State and Local), and relations with the Orient (formerly relations with Japan); and Committees on Foreign Missions, on Home Missions, on family life and Religious Rest Day, and on Ministerial Relief and Sustentation.

The objects of the Federal Council are declared to be:

(1) To express the fellowship and Catholic unity of the Christian Church.

(2) To bring the Christian bodies of America into united service for Christ and the world.

(3) To encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the churches.

Each of the communions adhering to the Federal Council is entitled to four members, and to further membership in proportion to its numbers.

The four members chosen by the Protestant Episcopal Church of America are two Bishops and two laymen, whilst in the case of any of the elected members being unable to attend, an alternate Bishop, two clergymen, and an alternate layman are elected to take the place of any who may be ill or absent. The Bishops elected as members are the Bishop of Chicago and the Bishop of South Bethlehem; the alternate Bishop is the Bishop of Columbus, Ohio.[1]

I have given so much space to this review of the work done by a Federal Council of the Churches in America, because a quarter of a century's study of the need for unity and the methods of achieving it have convinced me that it is in work done on these lines that immediate steps towards unity may be taken.

Should any consider that too much attention has been given to this religious movement in the great Republic of the West, and would rather look towards an early *rapprochement* with the Church of Russia and the East, I may be permitted on this point to utter a word of warning. The "Catholic and Orthodox Church" is at the present moment suffering more than we can realise from the great revolution in Russia. No one knows what will be the ultimate issue, but it is important for us in seeking closer unity with that Church to realise that the differences between the two main divisions of Christendom—East and West—are great. We must remember that in the eyes of the Orthodox Greeks the Pope is not the representative of a faith pure and undefiled, but is[2] "the first Protestant, the founder of German Rational-

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[1] The following figures, taken from many valuable tables contained in the Year Book of the Federal Council, set out clearly the total numbers of those denominational groups of families which are referred to in the constitution of the Federal Council:

Denominational groups or families.	1915.	1890.	Increase in 25 years.
Methodists (16 bodies)	7,472,108	4,589,284	2,882,824
Baptists (15 bodies)	6,402,253	3,717,969	2,684,284
Lutherans (20 bodies)	2,434,184	1,231,072	1,203,112
Presbyterians (12 bodies)	2,104,039	1,278,332	825,707
Disciples of Christ (2 bodies)	1,293,397	641,051	652,346
Episcopal Protestants (2 bodies), in communion with the Church of England	1,051,696	540,509	511,187
Reformed (4 bodies)	502,602	309,458	193,144
United Brethren (2 bodies)	360,387	225,281	135,106
Evangelical (2 bodies)	205,255	133,313	71,942
Friends (4 bodies)	120,712	107,208	13,504
	21,946,633	12,773,477	9,173,156

[2] "Quelque Mots par un Chrétien Orthodoxe," 1853, p. 40.

ism." The Eastern patriarchs speak in their great documents of the Roman Church as [1] "the chief heresy of the latter days which flourishes now as its predecessor Arianism flourished before it in the early ages, and which, like Arianism, shall in like manner be cast down and vanish away."

The Latin Church which represents to us so much that is medieval—some would say anti-Christian—is, compared with the Eastern Church,[2] "in one word Protestant. It is instructive for the opponents of the Reformation to see that in the Eastern section of the Christian Church, vast as it is, the whole Western Church, Latin and German, Papal and Lutheran, is often regarded as essentially one; that the first concessions to reason and freedom, which involve by necessity all the subsequent stages, were made long before Luther, in the bosom of the Roman Church itself; that the Papal See first led the way in schism from the parent stock in liberty of private judgment; that some of the most important matters in which the Latin is now distinguished from the Greek Church have been actually copied and imported from the new churches of the Protestant West."

There is more hope for a unity that shall count in the conflict with evil that confronts us after the war by making our first step a federation of those communions in Europe and America which are found in the constitution of the "American Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America," rather than in sectional attempts to seek recognition from the rigidly conservative churches in the East. Those who look to the East would surely be wiser to look Westward and to grasp the spiritual truth which we may express in the beautiful imagery of Clough's lines:

"And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light,
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright!"

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[1] "Encyclic Epistle of the Eastern Patriarchs," 1848, 5.
[2] "Quelque Mots par un Chrétien Orthodoxe," 1853 and 1854.

We are justified in believing that a Federation of Christian forces now working in Britain and the United States is practicable, and if accompanied by a deeper spiritual life, gives hope of the ultimate achievement of unity.

Our ideal must take time to realise, and we must not seek the destruction of the distinctive elements which characterise the different communions. We must endeavour to unite them in as close an alliance in their work as that which characterises the different orders of the Church of Rome, giving them great liberty of individual development.

Each of them has been given some special message, some revelation of the truth which is of value to the whole body ecclesiastic. Our endeavour must be to seek the development of those special traits which have given to each its mission and supplied to each its power for good.

Let us remember Sir Isaac Newton's great saying: "I am but a child gathering pebbles on the shore, whilst the vast ocean of truth lies before me unexplored," and let us cultivate the agnosticism of humility with regard to the beliefs of others which we do not understand, and the dogmatism of experience with regard to the truths which we have proved in our own lives.

In the international life of the world the hope of the future lies in respect for international law, accompanied by the freedom of each nation to govern itself by its own laws. In like manner our purpose in the realm of the spiritual must be to secure for each order recognition, from the rest, of its own right to proclaim the special message which it has been given by the Divine Spirit. We must admit the right of each order to be governed by its own ecclesiastical discipline, whilst recognising at the same time in the voice of the whole church an authority which shall govern the relations of the several orders.

Thus shall an intelligible and practical meaning be given to the great sentence which governed Newman's life, but which was imperfectly realised in his last spiritual home: *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*

The true ideal of each religious organisation must be to take its part in building that great spiritual temple of which, in Peter's bold imagery, every individual Christian is called to be "a living stone."

The alienation from the "Commonwealth of Israel" of those who were "called uncircumcision by that which is called circumcision" was complete. Even within the early Christian Church the division between Christian Jew and Christian Gentile threatened to be infinitely more serious, and based upon profounder differences than any which to-day separate the fragments of the divided Church of Christ. The Ephesians to whom St. Paul wrote were once regarded as outcasts from "the covenants of the promise" more absolutely outcast than ever Churchman could regard Dissenter, or Covenanter, Prelatist. But it is to these one-time "enemy aliens" (how well we understand that word to-day!) that St. Paul writes of the reconciliation by Jesus "our peace," "in one body unto God through the Cross." We can understand now, as we could not four years ago, what it meant for St. Paul—a Hebrew of the Hebrews and a Pharisee of the Pharisees—to say that Jesus had "slain enmity" and "preached good tidings of peace." These former enemy aliens are given full citizenship in the kingdom—"fellow-citizens with the saints." But more than this, they are to be used in the building of the City of God upon earth "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the chief corner-stone." And here we come to the final purpose of God in these varied organisations through which His Kingdom has been and is to be advanced in the world: "In whom each several building fitly framed together groweth into a holy temple in the Lord."

CHAPTER XXV

THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS UNITY IN 1918

Meetings for Prayer, January, 1918—Conferences at London House between the Church of England and Wesleyan Methodists—The Sub-Committee on Faith and Order—Agreement on Matters of Faith—Agreement on Necessity for " One Visible Society "—The Moderator of the Church of Scotland at St. Paul's—Presbyterian Movement towards Unity—The Baptist Union and Federation—The Congregational Union and the Bishops—Professor Forsyth on Unity.

> Remember, O Lord, Thy Church, to deliver it from all evil, and to perfect it in Thy love; and bring it together from the four winds, even the Church which is sanctified unto Thy Kingdom, which Thou hast prepared for it.—THE DIDACHE.
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> That there must be wine skins is clear, but when the wine skins assume a greater importance than the wine we have become curators of wine skins rather than vendors of wine.—RICHARD ROBERTS.

THE year 1918 began with a most hopeful series of meetings all over the country to pray for guidance and direction in this time of national distress. These meetings were hopeful because in many places for the first time clergymen of the Church of England and ministers of the Free Churches united in common supplication for the Divine Blessing upon our nation during the year.

In the month of January, and again in April and July, Conferences were held at London House by invitation of the Bishop of London, who presided, to consider the possibility of promoting closer relations between the Church of England and the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

These deliberations are continuing, and reference was made to them at the May Meetings of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society by the Bishop of Winchester, who spoke of attending "a cabinet meeting of Churchmen and Methodists."

As these meetings are preparatory and exploratory in character, no advantage would accrue from an account of the proceedings, although they were marked by an exceptional and most helpful unity of spirit. It may be permissible, however, as I was present at these discussions, to say something of the temper which characterised them.

Nothing could have been more helpful to the cause which all desired to advance than the spirit of brotherly love and the desire to sacrifice non-essentials, while maintaining the unity of the faith, which animated these influential ecclesiastics and the laymen associated with them.

The attitude of the Methodists present was that they desired the enrichment and not the impoverishment of the whole Church. They declared, with a frankness that was appreciated by the other side, that the movement must not be unilateral. Their loyalty to Christ must be tested, not only by their attitude towards the Church of England, with which they were generally in close sympathy, but by a desire for unity with those who were far removed from the members of these gatherings. Unity rather than uniformity; diversity within the one Catholic Church rather than amalgamation into a rigid and unyielding ecclesiastical system, was asserted as the principle that should guide the Conferences, and this expression of opinion was received sympathetically.

At the same time, in view of what I have said in the last chapter, it is important to state that mere federation of the Churches was not regarded as meeting the requirements of the age, either by the members of these gatherings or by those who met in the Sub-Committee on Faith and Order, of which I wish to say something in this chapter.

It was recognised on the Anglican side that the existing social order was undoubtedly going to be changed by events in the world to-day, and that great theological and institutional changes were now taking place. Protestantism was being influenced by Biblical criticism. At the same time there was a great movement towards Catholic ideals.

I cannot say more concerning gatherings which were essentially private in character. It may be that before this book is published something of the results of our deliberations will be known to the world. In any case it is fair to both parties concerned to say that neither side was prepared to sacrifice great principles, nor did either ask the other side to do so.

The deliberations of these gatherings were profoundly affected by the important interim reports published by the Sub-Committee on Faith and Order. The object of the movement which this sub-committee represents is to prepare for a World-wide Conference on Faith and Order, with the view of promoting the visible unity of the Body of Christ on earth. It was initiated in America by the Protestant Episcopal Church, and has been widely taken up by the Christian Churches in the United States. In response to an appeal from those who are co-operating in America, a Committee was appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and Commissions by the Free Churches to promote the same movement in England, and they appointed a sub-committee to draft reports.

The first interim report contained a statement of agreement on matters of Faith which affirmed "certain foundation truths as the basis of a spiritual and rational creed and life for all mankind." The Committee accepted as a natural sequence of Christian doctrine "A necessary synthesis of idea and fact such as is presented to us in the New Testament and in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds," and stated that "these creeds both in their statements of historical facts and in their statements of doctrine affirm essential elements of the Christian faith as contained in Scripture, which the church could never abandon without abandoning its basis in the Word of God."

In a statement of opinion on matters relating to Order, the Committee expressed their own conviction that our Lord's purpose involved "One visible society—His Body with many members—which in every age and place should maintain the communion of saints in the unity of the Spirit, and should be capable of a common witness and a common activity."

It went on to accept as our Lord's ordination the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and affirmed that these were "not only declaratory symbols, but also effective channels of His grace and gifts for the salvation and sanctification of men."

In the second interim report, which was published at the end of March, the sub-committee proceeded with their consideration of a basis for the proposed Conference on Faith and Order. In this they dealt with all that they held to be involved in the statement that "It is the purpose of our Lord that believers in Him should be one visible society." Throughout their discussions on this question they affirm that they have been guided by two convictions from which they could not escape, that "Unity is essential to the purpose of Christ for His Church, and for its effective witness and work in the world, and the visible unity of the Body of Christ is not adequately expressed in the co-operation of the Christian Churches for moral influence and social service."

I record these conclusions as a remarkable step in the development of Christian Unity, and realise fully that they go beyond the proposals for federation suggested in the last chapter and already being carried out in America.

More remarkable conclusions were to follow. In the endeavour to discover if any practical proposals could be made that might bring the Episcopal and non-Episcopal communions closer to one another, the Committee agreed to acknowledge certain facts which represented great concessions on the part of the representatives of the non-Episcopal communions.

The first fact is "That the position of Episcopacy in the greater part of Christendom as the recognised organ of the unity and continuity of the Church is such that the members of the Episcopal Churches ought not to be expected to abandon it in assenting to any basis of reunion."

On the other hand, the Episcopal representatives acknowledged that "there are a certain number of Christian Churches not accepting the Episcopal Order which have been used by the Holy Spirit in His work of enlightening the world, converting sinners, and perfecting saints."

The Committee reached the following large measure of agreement:

(1) That continuity with the Historic Episcopate should be effectively preserved.

(2) That the Episcopate should reassume a constitutional form.

(3) That the acceptance of the fact of Episcopacy and not any theory as to its character should be all that is asked for.

The whole report should be read with care by all who are interested in this important question, and the signatures should be weighed as well as counted. It is signed by the Bishop of Bath and Wells (chairman), the Bishops of Winchester and Oxford, the Revs. H. L. Goudge, Principal of Ely Theological College, William Temple and Tissington Tatlow, and Mr. Eugene Stock, representing the Church of England; by Professor W. T. Davison and Dr. Scott Lidgett, representing Wesleyan Methodism; by Dr. Garvie and Dr. Selbie, eminent Congregational theologians, and by the Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, ex-President of the Baptist Union, and Mr. H. G. Wood, Warden of the Woodbrooke Settlement.

The Moderator of the Church of Scotland has recently delivered an important address, with the Bishop of London presiding, in the Crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, on the relations between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism in Scotland. There has also been inaugurated in Scotland during recent months a definite movement to promote union between the Church of Scotland, the Episcopal Church in Scotland,

and the United Free Church of Scotland. In this movement, as in others to which reference has been made, not compromise but a higher synthesis involving no sacrifice of principle is the aim of its leaders.

The same influences are making themselves felt amongst the Baptists. At the May Meeting of the Baptist Union, the Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, who has worked with such passion and earnestness for the federation of the Free Churches, presented his report. This report is the result of three protracted Conferences held in Oxford, Cambridge, and London, composed entirely of representatives appointed directly by the Denominational Assemblies.

Mr. Shakespeare frankly admitted in presenting his report that some Baptists and Congregationalists would have preferred no declaration of faith. He claimed that it was a great thing that the Free Churches should present "a united declaration of Gospel truth, a confession of Christ to the world," and that it had come about by the blessed influence of the Spirit of God. He made one remarkable statement coming from a minister of one of the Baptist group of what were formerly called "Independent Churches," when he said that it must be distinctly understood "that this is a Federation of Denominations and not of particular Churches." In an admirable passage, he summed up the influence that was compelling Baptists to forsake their isolation. He said:

"For years I have watched this Baptist Union. It is not small or narrow or bitter, and it will not look on this little promise of Christian Unity with suspicion or distrust. We have come to a great hour in human history, and nothing will ever be the same again. Let us not so completely mistake the temper of the men at the Front as to wait for their return before we prepare for united action. If we do, they will have the right to say, 'Did you know so little about us and what we have been doing and thinking?' This movement of Christian Unity is sweeping through the world like a breath of God. You can see the flush in the sky. A week to-day I was in this pulpit with the Bishop of Hereford as he preached, and the words came into my mind: 'Then was our mouth filled with laughter and our tongue with singing; then said they among the heathen, The Lord hath done great things for them. The Lord hath done great things for us whereof we are glad.'" He declared that if Baptists wrecked the movement for the federation of the Churches of Christ, such a course would wreck the Baptist Union.

Dr. Charles Brown, one of the most eminent English Baptists, declared that the Union must face the question whether, after talking for years about unity they really meant business, and said: "To refuse to federate would be to forfeit our honour and our claim to be a vital part of the Holy Catholic Church."

The report was adopted and carried with very few dissentient voices.

The Congregational Union, which also met in May, was marked by striking events showing the same influences powerfully at work. The retiring President, the Rev. Bernard Snell, described in the *British Weekly* as "The Last of the Independents," the last survivor of the band which had emphasised the independence of every individual church in the Congregational Order, made this remarkable statement. He said that he had become convinced that the Congregational Order required the appointment of men, "bishops or superintendents or whatever they may be called," whose duty it would be to exercise supervision over the churches and to supply them with the necessary guidance in their perplexities.

Probably the most memorable of all the public utterances made during these eventful months was an address given at the Congregational Union by Dr. Forsyth, Principal of Hackney College, Hampstead, and Dean of the Faculty of Theology in the University of London. He affirmed that they stood for Liberal Evangelicalism which was the true Catholicism, and not Liberal Catholicism which exalted the social above the evangelical. Principal Griffith Jones, the Chairman of the Union, in his inaugural address, had affirmed that Congregationalism was the constitution of the original Church. Dr. Forsyth, on the contrary, boldly asserted that Congregationalism was only valid when it aided and magnified the supreme autonomy of the great Church. He followed the broad lines laid down in the report of the Sub-Committee on Faith and Order. As he concluded his address he said in genial irony that he hoped he might not be mobbed when he asked, "Would Congregationalism ever have come into existence if it had not been for a double fallacy? First, the fallacy that the polity in the New Testament was sacrosanct; secondly, that the polity was independent Congregationalism." He urged that they must construe their autonomy by unity, and not unity by autonomy, and submit their autonomy to the spirit of the whole Church. That must be the method, but the need for advance was urgent. What society needed was not first reconstruction, but a new heart; and the Church alone had the secret of the new man. But the charm could not be worked by a divided Church—a Church which was but a faggot of ecclesiastical egoisms or private pieties. It could only be done by a Church united enough to be the Great Sacrament to history of the Kingdom of God.

It was a significant sign of the times that the Union, instead of "mobbing" Dr. Forsyth for his courageous declaration, carried a unanimous resolution that the address should be printed and issued by the Congregational Union.

I have been convinced after five-and-twenty years of close and careful study of these questions that any doubt of the great things that the Divine Spirit may accomplish in bringing about unity amongst the Churches in the near future would be in direct contradiction to the facts here recorded, and to the deep spiritual movement of which they are the outward expression. If the completion of "The Holy Temple in the Lord" seems to our finite vision to be long delayed; if the harmony of the several parts be slow in manifesting itself, we may be encouraged by the thought that it has taken centuries to build one of our cathedrals.

Let us remember the faith of that aged and lonely prisoner on the Isle of Patmos who in his banishment could courageously write of the New Jerusalem "coming down from God out of heaven." We may take encouragement from the example of all those who through faith "looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God." Of these men is written the epitaph, "These all died in faith, not having received the promise, God having provided some better thing for us that they, apart from us, should not be made perfect."

We each contributing our share to the building are necessary to the realisation of the Divine purpose. If we are faithful in our unceasing endeavour to realise the ultimate unity of Christendom, we shall in the great hereafter discover that none of our efforts, fruitless and unavailing though they may have seemed to be, have really been in vain; that nothing of what we have done in faith has been

"Cast as rubbish to the void
When God hath made the pile complete."

APPENDIX A

THE two following letters, the first to a Churchman, the second to a Methodist, have some bearing on questions discussed in the last chapter. The recipients had been present at one or other of the London House meetings, in which I took part, between Anglicans and Methodists, with the Bishop of London in the chair:

"*March* 16*th,* 1918.

"I have read your letter carefully many times before venturing to reply. I am most glad that you emphasise the value and importance of speaking 'heart to heart.' It is only by absolute frankness on both sides that we shall make any real and genuine progress towards unity. I am sure, therefore, you will understand me if I state very plainly the difficulties to a Methodist who desires unity, which should indeed be the desire of all real followers of Wesley.

"In the first place we should pause at the word schism and ask wherein does schism consist and who is the schismatic. St. Paul used the word *σχίσματα* in 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19, almost interchangeably with *ἁιρέσεις* and in chapter i. 10, 11 with *ἔριδες*. In the third chapter of this epistle he deals with the same trouble in the Church at Corinth and speaks (verse 3) of *ζῆλος καὶ ἔρις καὶ διχοστασίαι*. Our version translates the word *σχίσματα* by 'divisions' and uses the same translation for *διχοστασίαι*. What is surely meant is party spirit and not our modern division into denominations. When the Editor of the —— tells me that he would not have in his house my little book, 'The Love of Jesus,' because it contains the fourth book of the 'Imitation,' he, although a clergyman of the Church of England, is surely the schismatic. When the Church Association of Mid-Victorian days persecuted the saints of St. Alban's, Holborn, and when the fox-hunting parson of the eighteenth century headed the mob in an attack on the 'enthusiasts' of the Methodist revival, these, I am sure you will agree, were the true schismatics.

"Therefore every follower of Wesley who considers the question will ask himself and us, 'Wherein lies the sin of schism to-day, and how is the responsibility to be apportioned?'

"Every member of our Committee would, I believe, agree that the mere expression of pious sentiments as to spiritual unity, which occurs constantly at Keswick and similar gatherings, does little to end 'our unhappy divisions' or to hasten the day when we shall all be 'united in one holy bond of Truth and Peace, of Faith and Charity, and with one mind and one mouth glorify God.' Unity of spirit is invisible and has no compelling force 'that they all may believe.' Our union, as you desire, in one Celebration in each parish will be the culminating sacrament of our effort, the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace, which has subdued the enmities and differences of generations. To hurry on such an expression of our unity would be to imperil the whole work we are undertaking. If it is agreed that only the priest of the Anglican Communion officiates, the question of Orders is settled on the basis of the definite Tractarian interpretation of the words 'historic Episcopate' in the Lambeth Quadrilateral.

"If the right of any non-Episcopally ordained minister to officiate be granted, the contention of Bishop Perowne, Bishop Ryle of Liverpool, Bishop Henson, and the Free Church theologians, is conceded.

"Therefore we must hold a solution of this problem to be part of our goal, and not a stepping-stone to constructive measures. It must come last and not first.

"It seems to me quite clear, as you say, that we must proceed very slowly if we are to build on a sure foundation. We must educate ourselves and those associated with us in the history of our separation, and the principles which have guided us as we separated and thereafter, and the extent to which the God of all grace has blessed us in spite of our divisions. We shall thus slowly cultivate the *ethos* and temper which are essential before we can learn in lowliness of mind to make sacrifice of that pride and prejudice which has helped to separate us quite as much as the principles that have been put forward as the reason of our divisions.

"It is necessary that all should understand how much sacrifice is involved in various suggestions that are sometimes advanced rather lightly on either side. Methodists need to learn how serious a thing it is from the standpoint of an English Churchman of your school of thought to suggest any action, such as common communion, or the recognition of non-Episcopal communions in Churches, which tends to widen the breach between the Church of England and the Greek and other Eastern Churches, and to destroy any hope, however slender, which exists of an ultimate reunion with Rome.

"On the other hand, it is important that English Churchmen should understand that English Methodists would cut themselves off from communion with the great Evangelical Churches of the United States, Scandinavia, Germany and Switzerland, if (by a complete change of attitude, for it would be nothing less) they agreed to receive the Communion from those only who had been Episcopally ordained.

"You and your High Church friends regard with anxiety any action that shall be open to criticism from Greek, Roman, or Old Catholics, who are not now in communion with you, and practically in the case of Rome, and at least theoretically in the case of the Greek Church and the Old Catholics, regard you as heretics or schismatics, or both. So strongly is this felt by the Old Catholics that Bishop Hertzog, of Berne, told me in conversation in 1893 that whilst he would like to have met English Christians in conference, he feared censure from the Archbishop of Utrecht and other Old Catholic bishops if he joined in our discussions, and he therefore suggested that his Church should be represented by a layman, Dr. Weibel, of Lucerne. You must allow for a similar anxiety on the part of English Methodists, lest they should do anything to separate themselves from the great fellowship to which they now belong.

"Too much importance, I know, can be attached to mere numbers, but it is difficult to combat the conviction that those great Christian communions which since the War of Independence have maintained the religious life of the United States, are working in harmony with the Divine Will, so far as they are faithful in following Christ. The Methodist in England knows that, whilst his brethren in this country stand to the communicating members of the Church of England in the ratio of one to about four, in the United States the proportion is reversed and there are more than seven million Methodist communicants to one million communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to use the official title of the Anglican Communion in America.

"I mention these facts and figures, not because I am hopeless of the task upon which we are engaged, but because I am most desirous that we shall begin on such lines as shall at no point increase bitterness and create other divisions, but shall steadily prepare men's minds for such sacrifices as may prove necessary to achieve the Divine purpose.

"It is therefore clear that our Committee must be content to seek for the advancement of its purpose by such joint action as shall not involve the sacrifice of great principles on the part of either side.

"You have been good enough to express your sense of the 'orthodoxy' of the purely Wesleyan documents which I have put together in my little book. Can we not go on steadily teaching our friends how much we have doctrinally in common, and how possible it is for us practically to co-ordinate our forces in certain phases of religious and social work?

"I have already written at such length that I will not burden you with any statement of the difficulties which do undoubtedly confront us. These difficulties exist to be surmounted. Our brethren in the United States are united in the 'Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.' On the governing body of this Society are two Bishops of the Anglican Communion sitting in council and acting with representatives of all the great non-episcopal communions. This fact gives ground for hope and will, I trust, stir us all to emulate this unity of action which is slowly evolving itself across the Atlantic.

"I have just received a letter from a very dear [Methodist] friend in close sympathy with all our aspirations, who writes from a health resort where he is recruiting his strength. He says: 'I have found some interesting Roman Catholic companions here. They talk much more like early Methodists than any Methodists I meet to-day. They talk quite freely about "the Passion of Jesus," "the love of Jesus," "getting near to Jesus." One old man staying here has lent me his prayer book, all blotted with tears and much reading. He is a successful Irishman and full of charity. But he tells me how he spends his time at Mass, contemplating the agony, passion, and death of his Saviour, and how he is able to feel "My Beloved is mine and I am His." I want more of that spirit in myself and in Methodism.

"'With what rapture
Gaze we on those glorious scars.

"'The wounds of Jesus! The Blood of Jesus! The War makes all that old sentiment intelligible again. What a freezing atmosphere the nineteenth century was! How its wretched negations exhausted the atmosphere of religion! What fools we were to listen to the prig who talked in superior accents about scientific discoveries, and about the vulgarity of evangelical religion! What hopeless snobs we Methodists have been, so fearful of being thought vulgar that we have lost or nearly lost the very rapture and joy that made us uncommon.'

"In these burning words my friend expresses better than I could the influence of an experience similar to some that I have enjoyed, when, as in the Conference on Retreats at the Community of the Resurrection, and on one or two other occasions, I have been privileged to learn something of the hidden springs of spiritual life from which Roman, Anglican and Methodist, alike, alone derive the power which leads their fellows to the love of the Crucified.

"We are called by the facts of this terrible war of the nations to make every effort in our power to act as one Catholic and undivided Church in all those matters upon which we are agreed. It will be an adventure worthy of our heritage as Englishmen if we courageously explore the possibilities which the present crisis affords. I have no doubt that in so doing we shall have the Divine blessing, even though we are constantly compelled to recognise that in building for eternity we must make haste slowly.

"Yours very sincerely,
"HENRY S. LUNN."

"*March 30th,* 1918.

"MY DEAR ———,—Your week here was all too short and I am particularly sorry that you could not remain over Good Friday to hear the rest of the Holy Week addresses by the Rector of Christchurch.

"After you left on Thursday morning I went to the eleven o'clock service, at which, instead of simple Mattins as on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, we had a 'Solemn Eucharist'—a high choral celebration such as you enjoyed so much on Sunday morning. This was the commemoration of the institution of the Holy Communion on that first Holy Thursday. Coming as it did in the midst of the Rector's beautiful and passionately evangelical addresses, it reminded me of your contention that the evangelical faith of the Wesleys finds its highest expression in the hymns which they published in their 'Hymns on the Lord's Supper':

'Let all who truly bear.'
'O Thou eternal victim slain.'
'Jesu, at Whose supreme command.'
'Let Him to Whom we now belong.'

"The Rector was also to endorse another remark of yours contained in the letter from —— with reference to the new meaning which the War gave to the passion of our dear Lord. To this I will refer in telling you of his Good Friday addresses.

"On Thursday he briefly summarised his teaching of the three previous days on the 'Head' crowned with thorns, the pierced hands and feet, and insisted as against so much modern teaching that sin is a positive offence—of the head, of lack of faith, and of intellectual pride; of the hands, of act and deeds; of the feet, of cowardice and sloth; and then in this address on the pierced side he spoke of the sins of the heart, and the wrong use we make of our affections. We brought that morning before the Cross all the want of charity that lies lurking in our souls. As we contemplated the pierced side of our Lord we realised His true human affection for the multitude, the rich young man, Martha and Mary and Lazarus, Jerusalem as He wept over it, and St. John at the foot of the Cross. In the Perfect Man the affections are not crushed, he said, but used to the full, disciplined and directed to God as the centre. He urged us to pray for the true liberty of the affections that came from discipline, and being God-created could go out safely to all human objects.

"And then the Rector went on, as all these best High Churchmen do, to speak simply but with deep sincerity of the need for us to suffer with Christ. If His heart was pierced, we must expect our hearts to be pierced by true contrition as well as by human sorrow and suffering. We were reminded, he said, of Toplady's great hymn, 'Rock of Ages, cleft for me.' (How near in spirit are the Methodist and the Catholic revivals.) The riven side represented to us symbolically but truly that therein was room for the whole world. There was one striking passage in which, whilst yet this great evangelical's verses were echoing in our ears, he linked up his Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist and Evangelicalism: 'The water and the blood represent the flow of grace which comes from Christ, and lives and abides in us through the broken heart of Jesus. To us there comes the vocation that we should be prepared to suffer with Christ, to have our hearts broken and disciplined for the strengthening and perfecting of our faith and love for Him and our zeal for His service and work in the world.'

"I have only imperfectly conveyed to you the passion and devotion of the preacher on this Holy Thursday which his sermons made memorable to me.

"Yesterday I went at noon to the Three Hours' Service and found the church crowded with a devout and strangely silent congregation of over a thousand persons. About a hundred left in the middle of the service, but all the rest remained in rapt attention until 3.15 p.m. I cannot give you any idea of the power and spiritual insight of the eight addresses, one introductory and the others on the 'Seven Words.' There was a force behind the words that could only come from the oratory, from the secret chamber. If we only had lived this last quarter of a century as near to the Crucified as these High Churchmen, how our Methodist people would have welcomed our message!

"It was in his introductory address that the Vicar expressed the idea which you felt so strongly at ——. He began by saying that our attitude must be one of adoration and faith. If Jesus was not truly and in a special sense the Son of God, there was no sacrifice, no redemption. It must also be one of gratitude. The Cross as the manifestation of love was the expression of God's character which never changed. Then he went on to the passage that reminded me of your letter, 'We see to-day God's love conquering through suffering and death. To-day men will not be satisfied with a religion that cannot be expressed in terms of blood and sweat. The world to-day has no use for gods sitting on

Olympus sipping nectar. The Christian's God covered with blood and sweat, carrying the roughly hacked Cross onward to bear the burden of the world's sin, is the God we need.' He then read a letter from a soldier at the front—I wish I had known shorthand—of which the burden was: 'For us out here the God of the Cross alone has any appeal—God dying that man may live.' Christianity, he said, is the only key that will fit the appallingly intricate lock which closes the future. We thank God as we see our Lord Jesus Christ marching up Calvary through death to victory.

"I cannot tell you of all the messages for the moment which came in his later addresses from one who in the secret place of the Eternal had learned to apply unchanging laws to the manifold changes of Europe at war.

"On the second word—'to the thief'—he said: 'Not only individuals but whole nations are hanging on the Cross to-day. Fundamentally, it is because the nations have been thieves—our own nation is not guiltless. We have dethroned God. "Will a man rob God?" "But ye have robbed Me." Let us pray that our nation may be like the penitent thief and say, "We indeed justly receive the true reward of our deeds."

"The note throughout was in complete harmony with the purpose of our Lord in 'His Agony and Bloody Sweat, His Cross and Passion, and His precious Death and Burial,' and when to-morrow breaks I know that the preacher will understand fully the joy of Easter—the 'glorious resurrection' of *his* Lord and *ours*.

"That is the thought that has oppressed me through these Holy Week services. We are one with him in faith and hope and love in all that he has said in these twelve addresses. And yet we are divided by the two words, 'historic episcopate,' or the phrase, 'apostolic succession.' The tragedy of it! There must be a way out. May God reveal it to this generation which so sorely needs the full message of 'Peace amongst men of good will.'—Yours affectionately,

"HENRY S. LUNN."

APPENDIX B

THE GRINDELWALD CONFERENCE

(SEPTEMBER, 1892)

THE DOCTRINE OF THE MINISTRY

THE Bishop of Worcester presided at the first session, and at the opening of his address enumerated the proposals of the Lambeth Conference of 1888 (see pages 167-8).

He recognised that the first was accepted practically on all hands. He pointed out that, so far as creeds were concerned, there was no real essential difference on great points of doctrine, in matters pertaining to salvation, between Nonconformists and the Church of England, though he expressly stated that he could not accept the view held by his Baptist friends of the Sacrament of Baptism.

His remarks on the two sacraments were exceedingly interesting. He said: "Here again I am struck by the extreme moderation of the Lambeth requirements—baptism and the Supper of our Lord, administered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution and the elements ordained by Him. Can any of us object to that? You see there is not one word about infant baptism; there is not one word about any particular doctrine of the sacraments. It is simply the fact put before you that Christ did appoint those two sacraments—baptism with water, and baptism in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and the Lord's Supper as instituted by Himself and administered with the elements of bread and wine. Surely Nonconformists ought not to make an unreasonable demand here; they may well be content with this large concession. There is not one of them probably who, if asked by himself, would object to

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and the Parish Church, Grindelwald, in which the Reunion Conferences of 1892, &c., were held

the terms of the statement; why then should we make it a stumbling-block that the Church of England has put forward a statement in her Catechism (not in her Articles) which seems to imply a particular belief in a particular doctrine of the Sacraments? Even if it were so, still she does not require it of the Nonconformist Churches.

"But besides this you have a large section of the Church of England (I should say quite one half though not the noisiest half or the dominant half, but at least as honest and true as the other half) which does put on the documents of the Church of England a construction very different from that which is put upon them by High Churchmen, which does hold a doctrine of the Sacraments not materially differing from that which is held by the great majority of Nonconformists. Therefore, these things ought to be no obstacle to reunion."

The Bishop felt, as everyone must fully realise who has had any experience in endeavours after reunion, that he was now coming to the most difficult question. The whole series of conferences was to prove that the other conditions could easily be accepted, so far at any rate as the Presbyterian and some of the great Methodist Churches were concerned. But the question of orders was all wrapped up in the phrase, "The Historic Episcopate." The Bishop said to me, entering the church: "I do not hold with any mechanical theory of the transmission of orders. Directly the mechanical idea enters into our view of ordination we are falling into error." For this reason his statement was much more acceptable to Nonconformists than would have been the statement of one of the High Church Bishops.

"I contend," said he, "therefore, and believe that *an* Episcopate—I do not say the Episcopate of the Church of England, and still less that of the Church of Rome—was the most normal form of Church government. That is all I should care to contend for—an Episcopal government. The Rev. Edward White, Chairman of the Congregational Union, told me that he believed the Episcopate was the original and primitive form of Church government, and that he should like to see a Bishop presiding over the Church in every large town. And my friend Mr. Price Hughes—if he will allow me to call him so—has said something very similar indeed; he has said, I am told, that there was no harm in an episcopate, and that an episcopate is useful, especially for aggressive purposes. But now, whilst a great many would not particularly object to an episcopate, especially if they were sure the Bishop would be of their own way of thinking, I believe there is lurking behind it that which makes my Nonconformist friends so averse to an episcopate. Here I entirely sympathise with them, because they are told by a great many forward persons in the Church of England that the episcopate necessarily carries with it the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession. Well, I believe in an Apostolical Succession as you believe in an Episcopacy, but then I think the Presbyterian Churches have got it! I believe with Irenæus in a succession of churches and not merely in a succession of bishops and churches.

"Therefore I will go with you in repudiating this which seems to me to be a most monstrous doctrine, namely, that unless you can as a minister trace your succession in unbroken line to the apostolical times, and the apostolical hands, you have no valid ministry, and no valid sacraments. With all my heart I repudiate that doctrine. I think it is something too fearful to contemplate. I look on the Presbyterian Churches abroad; I look at the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and at the great Nonconformist Churches in England—the Congregationalists, the Wesleyans, the Baptists—and I see plainly before my eyes what God has wrought through them and their ministry. It is appalling when you see men, who have sat at the feet of Nonconformist ministers, going forth with their lives in their hands as missionaries of Christ, and bearing witness for Christ and crowning their witness with the martyr's death—when you see how visibly the Lord has set His seal of approval on their work—it is appalling to say that they are not true ministers, and that the sacraments administered by them are not sacraments at all.

"Therefore I hope that my Nonconformist brethren will acknowledge that the Historic Episcopate is one thing and the doctrine of Apostolical Succession is another, and that the admission of the one does not necessarily carry with it the admission of the other, and that looking at the matter calmly and dispassionately even this fourth article of the Lambeth Conference—the acceptance of the Historic Episcopate—will not be a bar to reunion.

"But now one difficulty stands in the way. Supposing it were so that the Nonconformist bodies generally were prepared to concede this point, still this difficulty remains: Are Nonconformist ministers to confess that they are not ministers at all? Are they to seek reordination at the hands of the Bishops of the Church of England? That is a serious difficulty. It is a confession on their part that they are not true ministers because they have not been episcopally ordained. I venture to say that there is not one of them who would submit to such reordination as implying such an admission, and *I think they are perfectly right!*

"But then there was a report made by the Committee appointed to consider this subject, one part of which, I am sorry to say, was entirely—well, removed, and not a word said about it when the report was issued. It was a proposal emanating, I believe, chiefly from Bishop Barry, then Metropolitan of Sydney and Chairman of the Committee, that the Bishops should agree to accept all the existing orders of ministers in the various churches, and allow them to minister within the pale of the Church of England for this special occasion, without any reordination. Of course this could not apply for the future, because you could not go on having two forms of ordination. But what was recommended by a majority of the Episcopal Committee was that all existing Nonconformist ministers should be acknowledged as having had a valid ordination, and that they should be at once enabled to minister in any of the churches of the

Established Church on their consenting, of course, to the other articles of the Lambeth proposals.

"That, I think, is absolutely necessary if we are ever to prevail on Nonconformists generally to accept the Historic Episcopate."

Père Hyacinthe followed the Bishop with an eloquent address in which he stated that in days gone by the Church had been saved by her divisions, but the time had come when the Church would be saved by her reunion.

He was followed by the Rev. Charles A. Berry, the President of the Free Church Congress and ex-Chairman of the Congregational Union, who expressed his agreement with every word that had fallen from the lips of the Chairman. At the same time he dreaded premature schemes as being a hindrance to the movement, and held that it was a danger to agree upon a form of words that might mean and did mean anything from one pole to another. Some of the Bishops, he affirmed, who had agreed with those four points had views which would violate some of the most cherished convictions of Nonconformists. It was not upon a form of words they could come together, but upon an approximation in respect of the great verities of the life of the Church. If our desire for reunion was a desire simply, and wholly, and devoutly, for the honour of Christ and the spread of Christ's truth, it would come on right lines, and in proper time, however fierce and long might be the discussions and differences meanwhile. If our desire for the reunion of the Churches arose from any lower motive, then there would be at the root of it power enough to disintegrate, not it alone, but the religion it existed to serve.

At the afternoon session, presided over by the Rev. Dr. Stephenson, ex-President of the Wesleyan Conference, the Bishop of Worcester asked permission, before the Chairman gave his own address, to make the following important references to what he considered to be the recognition by the Church of England of Presbyterian ordination. The Bishop said: "You will recollect that I was speaking of the possibility of admitting ministers of other Churches into our own communion without reordination. May I just give you this historic fact? In the year 1610 Archbishop Spottiswoode and two other Scotch prelates were ordained and consecrated by Bishop Andrewes and other English Bishops without having received any but Presbyterian ordination. That is a remarkable fact, and more so because Bishop Andrews, himself a staunch High Churchman, at first objected to any such acknowledgment of non-episcopal orders, but yielded to the Archbishop when he pointed out that if he persisted in his refusal he would be throwing doubt on the validity of the orders of all the foreign churches which could not have episcopal ordination. I should like to add that there is a whole *catena* of Divines and High Church Bishops of the Church of England who have held the same view, such as Richard Hooker, Jewel, Archbishop Whitgift, Bishops Andrewes, Cosin and Bramhall, all of them decided High Churchmen; and later, of Archbishops Wake, Sancroft and Tenison, one and all of whom admitted the validity of non-episcopal orders, and not one of whom ever ventured to tie the grace of the sacraments to Apostolical Succession."

Dr. Stephenson affirmed himself to be a strong believer in the episcopal system of the Church. He urged that the frank recognition of the valid ministry of those who were already recognised as ministers in the Nonconformist Churches was a necessity in any proposals for our reunion.

At the evening session, in the absence of Dr. Clifford, who had hoped to preside, Professor G. T. Stokes, D.D., of Trinity College, Dublin, took the chair.

The principal speech of the evening meeting of the Conference was given by the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, who spoke of the necessity for patience and forbearance in entering upon this work. He said: "I strongly believe that our present differences greatly hinder our influence, and that there is no conceivable reform that the Christian conscience demands that would not be carried at Westminster if we were all united in the demand." He went on to say with reference to the Conference: "There is one other blessing that would at once arise from union; we should avoid on the mission field that waste of money, time and strength, and that awful loss of moral power which arises from the fact that the heathen is perplexed beyond measure when he discovers that these Christians who speak of the same God and worship the same Christ are divided one from another."

Dealing with the argument of a great many people that what we should seek after was spiritual unity, he said: "Spiritual unity exists in spite of us; we can neither create nor destroy it, and it could not be a subject of prayer even on the part of Christ Himself. When He prays, He prays for something that does not exist, and this conclusion seems to imply that the object of it all was that the world might believe that Christ was sent of God. I am of opinion that the world, the sceptical and unscrupulous world, will never believe in us until we sufficiently believe in Christ and in one another to present a united front to evil. Our disunion has an awful effect on the outside world (that is implied in the prayer of our Lord), and I cannot imagine anything that would tend more to convince the world of the miraculous power of Jesus Christ than such an exercise of self-suppression and humility as would enable us to restore a divided Christendom to the position which it ought to occupy. Spiritual unity exists in spite of us all, but our business is to build up upon that basis such a manifest and visible unity that the world may believe in it."

On the question of the Episcopate he declared himself strongly in favour of the episcopal system, and in reply to the question that they would be absorbed in the Church of England, he said: "I am willing to be absorbed in the Church of England to-morrow if it is for the glory of God." Mr. Hughes, later on in his address, said: "But someone might say, 'What do Churchmen mean by the Historic Episcopate?'" To which he replied: "That does not matter so long as we attach our own meaning to the terms of union." They must not look behind what was written, and he was convinced that the whole crux of the difficulty, so far as British Nonconformists were concerned, was that they should be frankly prepared to be members of the same great communion as other Christians who differed from them in their interpretation of certain rites and ceremonies and sacraments which they all used in common. Ought the Bishop of Worcester to leave the Church of England because he repudiated Apostolical Succession in a sacramental sense? He replied emphatically, "No!" It was his lordship's duty to remain in the Church to pray and preach for the prevalence of what he believed to be the more scriptural truth. In like manner absolute organic reunion would be impossible if it was demanded that all should accept the same view of the sacraments.

They must carefully distinguish between faith and dogma, and he could not find a better definition of faith than Père Hyacinthe had given, namely, that faith is that which we find in the Bible, and especially that which we derive from the lips of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. "All who honestly accept the divinity of our Lord," he said, "accept the Nicene Creed when they really understand it. That creed was formulated *ex necessitate,* because it was absolutely necessary to express truth for the purpose of refuting error. Arius, Nestorius, and others introduced heresies, and for the purpose of warding off such deadly delusions it was absolutely necessary to express the Christian faith in the Nicene Creed. But that is not the positive statement of faith; the positive statement is in the *ipsissima verba* of the Scripture itself. I believe that the Lambeth proposals were most generous, liberal, and Christian, but they have never yet received sufficient recognition from British Nonconformists, either at their ecclesiastical assemblies, or at the Grindelwald Conference. I do not know what some of my brethren expect, but I know that if the Anglican Church had been prepared to make anything like those concessions in the time of Charles II. there would have been no dissent in England."

APPENDIX C

THE CONFERENCE OF 1893

DEFINITION OF "THE CHURCH"

IT is impossible to give anything but a brief outline of discussions which occupied many weeks in the three years of Conferences, over which I presided, following the first Conference. The reports of the discussions which appeared in the Press would alone fill a volume quite as large as the present one.

In 1893 we were fortunate in securing, as one of our principal speakers, Canon Hammond, a vigorous High Church controversialist, and a strong opponent of the Free Churches, whose position he summed up from his standpoint in the title of his paper, "Polychurchism," which decided the character of almost all the discussions of that year.

The 1893 Conference was opened by Dean Fremantle, who complained that the function of public worship had usurped the name of "Church" exclusively to itself, though this function was, in fact, only one department of the Church, and in spite of that fact the officers of this one department had often become the Church's supreme rulers. Thus Christianity had become denationalised. In view of Dean Fremantle's strong Erastian conviction that the Church should be controlled by the State, it was not surprising to hear him denounce the "so-called church" looking contemptuously on human society. He noted as characteristic Pope Hildebrand's saying that temporal rule was nothing but the assertion of power by successful brigands. He also attacked Hildebrand's assertion that the ministers of public worship had a right to rule over kings and emperors, and over the whole life of mankind. The Dean made the following startling statement: "I hold that the first step to be taken towards reunion is to recognise with all modesty our true position. Anglicanism, Romanism, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, the body of Baptists or Wesleyans, are not churches but sects, which have for their function public worship with certain adjuncts of beneficent action, and, as fulfilling this function, have an important place in the polity of the kingdom, but neither singly nor unitedly have the commission or the competency to carry on the work of Christ's Church. Their function is of great importance, both in itself and as bearing on the welfare of the whole body. But when they assume to be the whole body they pretend to an overweening position, from which they must topple over disastrously. The Archbishop of Canterbury, at the great meeting to oppose the Welsh Suspensory Bill, said: 'What is the Church? It is the nation itself in its conscious, most thoughtful, most purposeful service of God and man.' "

Dean Fremantle advanced his programme of five points which he thought were impediments to the kingdom in our present ecclesiastical state.

The first was the prohibition of anyone but a clergyman from preaching in the pulpits of the national churches. He suggested that it was most desirable that such men as Mr. Price Hughes should preach at St. Paul's, and that this would do much to break down false ideas.

He next urged the formation of parochial councils for the furtherance of Christian work in common, and his last three points were that Conferences similar to those at Grindelwald should be held all over England, that common Communion should be held from time to time, and that Press work should be carried out for spreading information in different localities.

Finally, he asserted his conviction that if Nonconformists would join in the task, the iniquity of the Act of Uniformity of 1662 might be successfully undone.

Professor T. M. Lindsay, of Glasgow, whose personality was as charming as his scholarship was wide, gladly recognised the grandeur of the mediæval conception of Christendom as one and indivisible, with its twin sides of civil and religious life, the Empire and the Church, the Empire ruling the civil side of Christian life, and the Pope the vice-ruler over the religious life. It was an attempt—rude enough, perhaps—to realise St. Augustine's dream of the City of God. Professor Lindsay said that federation was the dominating political thought of the day, and his idea was that the only hope of reunion was in the federation of the Churches. He believed that federation had been the principle of the first two centuries, and that it was in use throughout the Reformed Churches of the Reformation period. Scotsmen and Englishmen who went to Holland and France were, at that period, at once recognised as office-bearers and members of the visible Church Catholic, and therefore of the Churches of Holland or France.

Canon Hammond, who opened the third day's discussion, challenged the title of the subject which the Conferences were held to discuss: "The Reunion of the Churches." He submitted that *there is and can be no church but one*. Consequently it was impossible to aim at the union or federation of the "Churches," for there were no "Churches" to reunite; but what they had to aim at was the healing of divisions in the Church, the reconciliation of separated Christians to the "one body" of Christ. Canon Hammond claimed that the Holy Scripture knew of no Church, of no local Church even, which is not God's Church; of no Church which was not the Church of the city or country; and of no Church other than the visible community of the baptised. On this last point he said that happily most Christians were agreed. Hooker had declared: "Entered we are not into the visible Church before our admittance by the gate of baptism." "Is not baptism," says Richard Baxter, "Christ's appointed means of admission into His Church?" "By baptism," says John Wesley, "the Christians at Corinth had been united to the visible fellowship of the Church of Christ. . . ."

Canon Hammond then proceeded to affirm that the "Churches" mentioned in the New Testament formed one body, which was described as "The Body of Christ." He was prepared to prove that absolutely nothing could justify separation from the Church of God, or from a particular Church, so long as it was a Church, unless it had become a synagogue of Satan and God had left it. On this aspect of the question he affirmed that all the Churches in the New Testament were more or less corrupt, some of them grossly corrupt—as corrupt, to say the least, as any national church of later days. Notwithstanding this, the New Testament taught in the most emphatic way that whatever might be the corruptions of the Church, there must be no separation from it. No dissenting Church was ever mentioned in the New Testament. The Church's ministers during the last three hundred years were no worse than the Scribes and Pharisees whom our Lord had charged His disciples to obey.

Canon Hammond was listened to with respectful attention as he stated the views of the extreme section of the Church of England with reference to the question of "schism as they hold it to be."

It fell to me to speak first in reply, and to claim that some of us accepted many of the arguments advanced by the Chairman, and yet used the word "Churches" in the way we had used it. We shared the view that every baptised person who does not reject the meaning of his baptism is a member of the Christian Church, and that in that sense there is, and can only be, one Church of Christ. The word "Churches" has obviously more than one connotation. Canon Hammond had shown that it was used in two senses in the New Testament—for the local Church and the Church as a whole. Many of us felt that it was inevitable that great differences would grow up, doctrinally and ethically, between the Churches of different places, and so it would come about that there would be in the earliest days of the Church's history, Churches as widely separated as the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches are separated to-day, though both of them are Presbyterian in their polity. Such divergencies must have existed, and it must have been possible soon after apostolic days, to use the word "Church" in the sense in which we in the Conference used it. When we came to deal with Canon Hammond's question we were compelled to reply by asking others. For instance, we inquired which section of the Church of Christ was the parent stock. The Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland would deny the right in Scotland of the Church of England to be regarded as the parent stock. They would claim that in their country the Episcopalian is the Dissenter. The same thing is true in other lands where other forms of Christianity occupy the leading position. There were many other points which we should feel compelled to debate. We should ask, for instance, what would the Italian mission say was the parent stock in England? Is it represented by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster? Canon Hammond had asked us to bring forward passages of scripture to show that there were separatist tendencies sanctioned by the Lord and His apostles. I had listened with some astonishment to the assertion that Jesus Christ was, in any sense, an orthodox member of the Jewish Church. To my mind He was the first and greatest Dissenter. Instead of accepting the teaching of the Scribes and Pharisees, He warned His disciples to beware of their leaven, and when they misunderstood Him He insisted that it was against the teaching of the Scribes and Pharisees that He had to warn them. I could not find any suggestion that the Apostles themselves ever recognised that unity was better than separation from error. The Apostle Paul recalls as one of his most praiseworthy achievements his resistance to Peter when Peter was inclined to sympathise with the Judaising teachers. In like manner I felt that if the Church at Jerusalem had continued to deny Paul's ministry—as, no doubt, many members wished to do, if they had asserted that the twelve apostles alone were in the direct line of apostolic succession, and that Paul's orders were not to be recognised, Paul would never have consented to forgo his right to the ministry, and would never have discarded that great call which came to him when, on the road to Damascus, he heard the words: "Rise and stand upon thy feet; for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness."

Dean Fremantle expressed his unfeigned surprise that such a statement as Canon Hammond's should be made of the history of the early Church. Hooker held that no polity of the early Church could be found in the New Testament.

Professor Lindsay, two days later, resumed the discussion with a scholarly reply to Canon Hammond, whose paper he asserted to be based on two false assumptions:

(1) That the word "Church" had only one meaning in the New Testament, and (2) that in every Christian community one *historic* Church could be found, which represented exactly the "New Testament Church" of Canon Hammond's idea. Professor Lindsay, excluding the ecclesiastical use of the word, found the term *ecclesia* used in at least five different senses to denote:

(1) The whole body of the elect who have been, are being, and shall be, gathered in through Christ—the Church Catholic invisible.

(2) The whole body of those who throughout the entire world profess the evangel of the Lord Jesus, together with their children—the Church Catholic visible.

(3) The sum total of congregations belonging to a district or community.

(4) Individual congregations.

(5) On, at least, one occasion it was used to indicate the Church as represented in its office-bearers.

If Canon Hammond could not deny these five New Testament uses of the word, the whole basis of his argument was destroyed. Professor Lindsay then proceeded to an even more vital argument. He declared that the differences of types of organisation in the Church of the New Testament were greater than at present existed between Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Wesleyans, etc., and that *no one communion* could claim to represent historically the New Testament Church. We found Churches (1) governed by colleges of presbyters in Lystra, Derbe, and Iconium; (2) formed under the governmental ideas of the Roman household; (3) ruled by a government not unlike that which regulated the relations between patrons and clients (1 Thess. v. 12, and Rom. xii. 8); (4) fashioned after a model which still holds good in the East, where the eldest male relation of the founder is regarded as head of the religious community. The striking instance of this fourth kind of rule is found in the mother Church of Jerusalem itself, where James, the "brother of our Lord," found a unique position, and was succeeded by Simon, the eldest surviving relation of the founder. All these churches, so diversely organised, were nevertheless in one great federation, which was the visible Catholic Church of apostolic times. This scriptural unity might be restored, and almost exactly reproduced by some such scheme of federation as he (Professor Lindsay) had ventured to lay before the Conference on an earlier day.

Coming lastly to the categorical questions put by the Canon, Professor Lindsay answered: (1) The word "Church" is emphatically used in the New Testament in the same sense as it is in the programme of the Reunion Conferences. There are Churches as well as the visible Catholic Church. (2) The Canon's second question could only be answered by another question: What example could be cited in the Apostolic Church of men judicially murdered for their religious views, as the earlier Baptists were? (3) Scripture does not use the word Dissenters, but it does recognise the existence of sects within the federation which is called the Catholic Church. It was not until one part of the Church of Christ insisted on a mechanical uniformity suggested by the centralising policy of the Pagan Roman Empire, that Dissent in the modern sense could arise, and what was wrong was mainly the pagan elements in the State churches of the day. (4) The apostles did forbid divisions and quarrels, but they did not forbid different forms of Church polity. (5) The

Church is undoubtedly described as one body, and it is the High Churchman who departs from spiritual teaching when he limits the visible Catholic Church to his own communion.

As for the other questions, Professor Lindsay said they did not concern him, a Scotch Presbyterian, whose ancestors could justify their reformation on every technical ground of canon law which could be used by Anglicans to make good their right to separate from Rome. He thought it a pity that when a union of English-speaking churches was the object of discussion, Anglicans could see and speak of nothing but England, which, however important, was, after all, but a small corner of the great English-speaking world.

When the Conference resumed its session—which had opened in July—in September, 1893, Prebendary Webb-Peploe read the first paper. I am sure I shall not wound the feelings of this devoted clergyman if I say that great questions of ecclesiastical policy interested him far less than the advancement of the spiritual life. He dwelt with characteristic kindliness and earnestness upon the importance of spiritual union, and spoke in a tone characteristic of Keswick and its excellent influences upon the deepening of the spiritual life. At the same time the intense enthusiasm of that school of thought is so great that to them outward unity seems a very small matter. It would not be right to omit to quote one passage which was characteristic and expressed a great truth. He said that he knew of no higher privilege that could be given to anyone than to be allowed to help those present, and those represented there, in getting nearer to one another, and he added: "When we reach that stage we may still find that your idea of Christ will not be the same as mine, because He is so magnificently great, so wondrous in His being, so all-complete in His greatness, that we may all have our own views, and at the same time be receiving the truth as it is in Jesus, and all of us, looking upon different aspects of our Lord's character and being, proceed together to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ. To this let us aspire, for this let us work, and let us begin individually, not seeking great things at once. Let us start low down, and we shall get nearer and nearer every day."

The Rev. Charles Berry, who was so closely allied to Mr. Price Hughes in his ideals and purposes, made a most important confession of faith, coming as it did from a great Congregationalist. He said: "I stand here to say I have publicly repudiated the name of Protestant, as I have also repudiated that of Dissenter and Nonconformist. I, too, am a Catholic Churchman, and though I cannot expect you to refer to my Church as other than a Nonconformist body, I, at least, must claim for it the name, to which I hold it is entitled, of a branch of the great Catholic Church.

"Before there can be any possible reunion worthy of the name, there must be what Mr. Percy Bunting expressed so felicitously last night: a mutual recognition of common Churchmanship, and of common ministration and service. I can understand High Churchmen saying: 'Is that not begging the question?' I should prefer to say it is stating the question, and stating it with a minimum expression. For if we cannot, as we do not, ask you to relinquish your love of the episcopate, in whose traditions and by whose services you have grown up, you must not ask us to deny that Christ is in our Churches. You must not ask us to deny that Christ has worked through us. You must not ask us to stand for one moment in a position which would amount to a blaspheming of the gifts of God and the baptism of the Holy Ghost.

"If the Church should ask me to undergo the rite of re-ordination, I should be compelled to say, after all my Lord has done for me, and through me for others, I dare not do it, lest I create a suspicion that hitherto, whilst having Him with me and working according to His spirit, I have not been in the line of His work, and have not enjoyed the blessing of His presence."

He went on to say: "I speak for myself, and I say that no criticism shall keep me from those Conferences so long as they are held." He added that he believed that the full expression of our differences, and the discussion of the very principles which at present seemed to divide us, might, perhaps, help us to see that what we called principle was only prejudice, and that what we held as vital to the life of the Church was, perhaps, only a necessity for a temporary phase of the Church's life.

He said: "The great things which abide and which we hold in common, may yet enable us to crush under foot or to disperse to the four winds of heaven what at present divide us, and to make the way clear for an outward and impressive unity which shall be the embodiment of that inward unity of which we here are all sharers in Christ."

The Rev. Professor Bruce, the great Free Church theologian of Glasgow, gave a biographical description of his experiences of the Scottish Disruption, and the influence it left behind. He claimed that he owed to the catastrophe of the Scottish Church that he knew Christ as well as he did.

He said: "Had the Church remained one I might have been tempted to make it an idol, and to be a Churchman first and a Christian afterwards. As things stand there is no danger of committing that mistake. The idol is broken and I am disenchanted. The fragment I belonged to might have its due place in my heart, but hardly that hold of the imagination which one church in a land is fitted to take. And so I fled from the sorrowful reality to the ideal, from the Church to the Kingdom of God, from clergymen to the Lord Jesus Christ. And from the time that I arrived at independent convictions to this day I have been first a Christian, and only at long intervals a Churchman; and my Christianity has been that of the gospels rather than that which takes its hues from ecclesiastical creeds, services, and orders."

Mr. Price Hughes summed up the discussion on Friday, Saturday being given to Mr. W. T. Stead's "Civic Church," which does not come within the scope of this volume. It is not because Mr. Price Hughes was so great a friend of mine, but because he was a born ecclesiastic, that I have felt it necessary to give at some length, in his own words, the important summary of his own attitude at the close of these discussions on the attempt to define the "Church."

Furthermore, his speech emphasises the central position occupied by the followers of John Wesley, and their true Catholicity, and their acceptance of the great truths which the General Councils of the Church have declared. The importance which he attached to the declaration of faith of the first great General Council held at Nicæa, as modified in the present form of the Nicene Creed, and his assertion of the relation of the Church of Christ to the Kingdom of God, should also be noted.

Mr. Hughes said: "I heartily agree with what Mr. Vernon Smith said with regard to the gross misconception amongst Nonconformists as to sacerdotalism, and especially as to sacramentarianism. It is curious in these days to remember that Martin Luther, who is one of our great heroes, was an extreme sacramentarian, and that John Calvin also went very much in the same direction. The fact is, we must not be frightened by words and must be prepared to face facts. As Bishop Butler said: 'Things are what they are,' and what do we gain by ignoring them? It was said of the Greek Sophocles that he saw life steadily and saw it whole; and it is extremely important that we should look at facts steadily and see them from every side.

"I wish to say that the distinctive object of this Reunion Conference is not to promote the fellowship of individual Christians, not even to promote the return of individual Christians to particular communities of Christians, but the organised reunion of Christian communities as such. Individual Christians are continually passing in Europe to-day from one Church to another. We have nothing to do with that. The essential—the vital point we are met to consider is this—can the great organised sections of the Church as such come together and restore our shattered ecclesiastical unity? Dr. Bruce, in his interesting and almost pathetic address, referred to the time in Scotland before there were secessions and disruptions, when there was only one church—the parish church—in every parish, and he longed for the time when ecclesiastical unity might be restored north of the Tweed. That is our point, and we must guard ourselves against the irrelevancy of discussing such questions as the advantage of cultivating fraternal relations one with another in our private and personal capacity."

He could not accept Mr. Stead's Civic Church, as it was not based on any recognition of Christianity, and slurred over the tremendous difference between a man who has submitted to Christ as the Son of God and his Saviour, and the man who has not. "We must never forget," he said, "and never deny the difference between St. Peter before he had made that confession and after he had made that confession."

He went on to say: "This brings me to a vital and fundamental point. The divinity of our Lord is the essential, the characteristic, the distinctive article of the Christian faith. The Bishops in conference at Lambeth have suggested as one of the conditions of reuniting the Church, the Nicene Creed. I say by all means. The immense majority of Nonconformists, non-Episcopalians, would say the same thing, but if any demur to the language of the Nicene Creed, no doubt the Apostles' Creed might be taken in its place, as yet more simple; but personally I greatly prefer the Nicene Creed.

"I wish to point out to this Conference the deep and blessed significance of the fact that all the representative Nonconformists, ministers and laymen, who have taken part in our proceedings have declared emphatically for the divinity of our Lord. I wish to emphasise this because I know that in some Anglican quarters there is a curious and, I am thankful to say, absolutely unfounded suspicion that Unitarianism is rife amongst English Nonconformists. That has not been the case with respect to the great majority, and there is less ground for the suspicion now than ever there was. I confess I make this statement with some pain, because I enjoy the friendship of many estimable Unitarians, men of the highest character and devotion with whom I am always happy to co-operate in all such objects as will be set before you to-morrow, but I must unhesitatingly say out of loyalty to my blessed Lord and Redeemer, that it would be absolutely impossible for us to combine or co-operate with Unitarians as such upon other than distinctively social grounds. For all purposes of social philanthropy, by all means; but when we speak of Christian reunion, it must be on the basis of our Lord's divinity, and on that point I am thankful to say that this Conference has spoken in the clearest terms. I should like to emphasise my testimony with regard to the Nonconformists by pointing out the significant fact that when we established the Free Church Congress, representing all the great branches of English Nonconformity, we deliberately excluded the Unitarians. We were very sorry to do so, but it was absolutely necessary for the reasons I have given.

"If the Christian Church consists of all those persons who in various ways have made that great confession of St. Peter, and have intelligently, deliberately, and practically accepted Christ as their Divine Saviour and Lord, what, you may ask before I pass on, is the precise function of the Christian Church as defined by Christ in its relation to the Kingdom of God? I say it stands to the Kingdom of God in precisely the same relation as the British army stands to the British Empire. The Church of God is the living army by which God intends, providentially and mainly, to establish the Kingdom of God in all lands; and while heartily welcoming the co-operation of sincere and honest persons for purely philanthropic objects, everyone knows that the main propelling force of social philanthropy to-day is Christian. You cannot get the self-sacrifice, the devotion, the enthusiasm and patient perseverance necessary to success except from

Christians, and therefore I am bound to regard the Church as a visible corporation, as a means to an end, and not an end in itself."

Dealing with Canon Hammond's address in July, he said: "Canon Hammond at the earlier meetings propounded a very short and easy method of settling the whole business. He described his group *the* Church—definite article, capital C—the rest were outside the covenant, and must come in, not organically, or in a body, but one by one, acknowledging that they are schismatics, that their ministers are unauthorised, and that their sacraments, if not invalid, are at any rate precarious. That is just the sort of scheme likely to be propounded by a good and honest soul who lives up in a balloon, far, far away from all the facts of life.

"He adds to the amusement of the situation—although it is a serious matter—by attempting to justify this theory from the Bible. I never read any more startling illustration of the fact that the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life. It is an attempt to apply the teaching of letters written two thousand years ago to totally different circumstances to-day. How completely the situation is changed is shown by the fact that the word 'schism' as used by St. Paul has not at all the same meaning as the word has to-day. The word then meant, not separation from the Church, for there was no separation at that time, and no one dreamed of it, but it meant hostile and litigious parties within the visible unity of the same churches. The truth is that Canon Hammond and the rest of us have to deal to-day with a totally different situation, a situation which St. Paul never discussed, because he never foresaw it. He had no conception—how could he have?—of the actual condition of Christendom at the close of the nineteenth century. Christianity does not give us cut-and-dried rules, but general principles which have to be variously applied from age to age. We have to deal with the actual facts in the light of our Lord's teaching, because we have no express precept on the subject in the New Testament.

"I agree with some of our Anglican brethren that the overtures of the Lambeth Conference have not been received as courteously and as heartily as they might and should have been. They were entitled, I think, to a more generous response.

"It has been pointed out to me that if the Church gave way on the point of re-ordination, they would be abandoning all hope of reunion either with the Roman or Greek Church. But I would ask them—is there any hope of any reunion of the kind? Rome despises and renounces your orders, and attacks you in every land. What chance have you of reunion with Rome? Not the least. Moreover, the future of the world belongs not to Rome, but to the great Protestant communities. Even to-day we dominate the earth. A hundred years ago we were one hundred millions less numerous than the Church of Rome. To-day we are almost as numerous, and if the same rate of progress is maintained, in two decades the Latin Church will have been left behind. Further, when Rome is really willing to consider reunion with England, she will be so very different from what she is to-day that she will not object to a great act of concession by which the rest of Western Christianity may bury the divisions of centuries. To the vain hope of reunion with Rome many Anglicans are sacrificing real, inestimable and world-wide blessing.

"Face to face with the vast union of the different Churches in the English-speaking world, false hopes will die. Sectarian and ecclesiastical claims may still be made, but I am hoping that a reasonable modification of the Lambeth proposals will give universal satisfaction. Meanwhile, let me beg of my colleagues not to weary of well-doing. What, it may be asked, is the use of meeting here and talking the thing over again and again? I answer, immense, incalculable use. The divisions of long centuries are not going to be healed in a day or in a generation; but at these conferences a word has been spoken which will never be forgotten. Let us be brave, patient and persevering; let us speak frankly to one another, try to understand one another, bear testimony to one another in public and in private; let us plead and advocate peace in season and out of season; and I cannot doubt for a moment that the day will again dawn when an astonished and delighted world will exclaim once more, 'See how these Christians love one another!' and when the whole world will acknowledge that Christ is God to the glory of the Father."

APPENDIX D

THE CHURCH CONGRESS REPLY TO GRINDELWALD

THE present Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Charles Gore) occupies such an authoritative position in the Church of England that I have thought it desirable to include in this volume, almost at full length, a striking speech which he delivered to the Church Congress in 1893, and the speeches made on that occasion by the Archbishop of Dublin (Lord Plunket), the Bishop of Worcester (Dr. Perowne), and the present Bishop of Durham (Dr. Moule), with a speech by Professor Stokes. The *Review of the Churches* borrowed the report from the columns of the *Birmingham Post,* and I have deliberately retained the punctuations of assent and dissent as they appeared in that paper so as to indicate the attitude of the Congress.

The Rev. Canon Gore (as he then was) opened the discussion after a protest by Father Ignatius in the name of orthodoxy. Canon Gore said: "No serious Christian can contemplate the existing divisions of Christendom without the gravest searching of heart. The evil is so tremendous, the hindrance to the spread and deepening of Christianity so profound, that a thoughtful man is apt to resent lamentations over it, or schemes for remedying it, because they seem almost necessarily superficial, and to regard it as a burden to be borne mostly in silence, or to find expression only in prayer. If he sees no present prospect of corporate reunion, he remembers that in the old Jerusalem the mark of the Divine approval was set on those who, if they could not remedy the social evils, at least had felt them. 'Set a mark,' says the word of God to Gabriel, 'on the foreheads of the men that cry and that sigh for the abominations which be done in the midst thereof!' It may well be that God will heal our ills, as He healed in a great measure those of Israel, through the profound humiliation of all parts of Christendom. Deeply set evils do not yield to superficial treatment. But in spite of the peril of superficial treatment, I must try to approach the subject of 'our divisions' and their remedies. When an Anglican Churchman thinks of reunion, two great classes of Christians from which he is separated present themselves chiefly to his mind—the magnificent communion of Rome on the one hand and, on the other, the various Nonconformist bodies. The heart of anyone must beat with excitement and joy at the mere thought of ministering in any way to the reunion of the Anglican Church with the great Apostolic See of Rome"—(cheers and cries of "No, no," and hisses)—"with its unique traditions"—(renewed cries of "No, no")—"its world-wide privilege of Christian communion. The same thrill of joy must come over one at the prospect of seeing the breach healed which separates us from Nonconformists." (Applause.) "All the more because the Anglican Church will be conscious of how much responsibility for disunion we have incurred in both directions. But our first generous impulse towards reunion, at any cost, is checked by respect for what we know of the truth, and our obligation towards it. It is 'peace in the truth' that we are to seek. We cannot, for the sake of fellowship with Rome, submit to accept terms which we do not believe to correspond to the original apostolic truth"—("Hear, hear")—"nor for the sake of fellowship with Nonconformists abandon what we believe to be a part of the apostolic deposit for which we are responsible." (Applause.) "The obligation to drive away 'erroneous and strange doctrines' significantly in our ordination service precedes and controls the obligation to set forward quietness, peace, and love among all Christian people.

"Here is my central point, then. As one says to an individual: 'You will best do your duty to society and help others by developing your own faculty of being true to yourself:

"'To thine own self be true,
And it must follow as the night the day
Thou canst not then be false to any man,'

so we say to societies of men; so we say to our Anglican Society: 'Do not evacuate thyself, but realise thyself. Promote reunion by being such a church as may make all Christian men desire thy fellowship.' Now the Anglican Church has, as all men recognise, a peculiar position and genius. This, we who believe in Providence know to be not an accident, but God's gift to us. It has been noted equally by foreign Catholics and foreign Protestants, who, because of this special position of ours, have seen in us a body with remarkable opportunities as a mediating power in a divided Christendom. Now our opportunities lie in this: that we have combined the tradition of the Catholic Church with that special appeal to Scripture which was the strong point of the sixteenth-century Reformation. We have retained the Catholic tradition in creed, in sacraments, in liturgy, in the apostolic succession of the ministry through the episcopate, and we have prevented this original Catholic tradition from becoming corrupted or unduly narrowed, according to the constant tendency of tradition, one-sidedness, and accretion, by restoring and emphasising the appeal to Scripture as the unceasing criterion of Catholic faith, 'so that whatsoever is not read therein nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith." (Applause.)

"It is this combination of the two main elements in the Christian religion—tradition and Scripture—which is the characteristic distinction of the Anglican Church, and it is along the lines of fidelity to this characteristic that lies our duty and our opportunity. Thus, as against Rome, it is worth while maintaining the scriptural aspect. We could individually obtain the Roman Communion by submitting to the doctrine, for instance, of the Treasury of Merits, of the immaculate conception of Mary, and the infallibility of the Pope. As, in fact, these doctrines did not belong to the original Christian faith, so no candid inquirer can reasonably even pretend to find them certified in the New Testament. Now this appeal to the New Testament, as the final criterion of what belongs to the faith of our salvation, is the essential for maintaining the Catholic Church, not only in purity, but also in its original largeness. Rome has narrowed the Catholic Church along lines effectual in their own way, but along lines which are narrower than the original limits. We are trustees for humanity and the future, to keep open the Catholic Church, to exhibit her before the eyes of men as wide and inclusive as she originally was, without the hindrance presented by dogmas contrary to historical truth, free inquiry, and legitimate liberty. We must maintain, I say, the scriptural appeal, though it prevents us from submitting to the claim of Rome.

"We must maintain the whole fabric of the tradition that is really and historically Catholic. There is an original apostolic tradition and doctrine, committed in apostolic days to the Churches, adequately represented in the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds, verified by frank inquiry in Scripture. Again, the apostles acting under Christian intention and in this spirit devoted themselves to the spread of a visible society or Church, intended to be universal and permanent to the end, as the house of redemption, grace, and 'the pillar and ground of the truth.' Once more, as part of this visible society, the apostles, again acting for Christians, instituted a system of social worship and sacraments as the only covenanted means by which the life of Christ was to be perpetuated in the society; lastly, as the link of continuity in this society down the ages, the Apostles for Christ instituted the 'Apostolic Succession,' i.e. that succession in the Christian ministry which secures in each age and part of the Christian society stewards of the Divine gift of grace and truth, appointed by succession from the apostolic fount, representing, so far as their ministerial commission goes, God the Giver, and not man the receiver. These four elements—the Catholic creed and Scripture, the visible Church, the sacraments, the apostolic ministry—we are bound to maintain unimpaired." (Applause.) "Of course I should think differently if I thought that, for instance, the Apostolic Succession was, like the papacy, a later accretion of original Christianity. But I am convinced of the contrary by the most candid study I can give the matter. I have discussed this at length in an article on the ministry of the Christian Church. It cannot clearly be discussed as a matter of historical evidence in twenty minutes. But I would say this: how anyone who with an open mind reads the Acts, the Pastoral Epistles, the Epistle of Ignatius, the Epistle of Clement, and the record of the second-century tradition as represented by Hegesippus and Irenæus—a body of literature that can be read through in a few hours—can doubt the immense strength of the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession, I am at a loss to imagine." ("Hear, hear.") "Once again, then, we must maintain the four Catholic elements which I have enumerated above, and amongst these the apostolic succession of the ministry through the episcopate, which alone can be shown to have possessed the authority to confer valid orders.

"Now, as the maintenance of the scriptural appeal precludes a hope of immediate Reunion with Rome, so the maintenance of the Apostolic Succession precludes the hope (if it otherwise existed) of rapid reunion with the Nonconformist bodies as well. We cannot admit Nonconformist ministers as validly ordained ministers of the word and sacraments." (Applause.)

Canon Gore then proceeded to deal with some of the contentions at Grindelwald, and asked with reference to certain Anglicans, amongst whom, of course, was included the Chairman of the Congress, the Bishop of Worcester: "Are they serious in their appeal to the Caroline divines with reference to the question of apostolic succession, and the admission of Nonconformist ministers as validly ordained ministers?" Canon Gore said that he was not prepared to accept these divines as infallible. If others appealed unto these Cæsars, let them go.

"It is true," said Canon Gore, "that many of these would have admitted the position of Presbyterian ministers in foreign countries where *ex hypothesi* episcopacy could not be had consistently with an open Bible. The exception to these general principles of the necessity of episcopal ordination, which they unwillingly made, does not apply to Anglican Nonconformists, and, in fact, these very people in dealing with separated Christians at home assuredly did not take a view of them which erred on the side of favour. If I were a Dissenter I had rather be dealt with by a modern High Churchman than by a Caroline Bishop." (Laughter.) "I resume then: We cannot admit Nonconformist ministers as on an equality of title in the ministry with those who have been episcopally ordained. Granted this, it follows also that we cannot attempt corporate recognition at all, because to admit them on an inferior basis is a proposal which they, on their side, from their own principles, would rightly regard as an insult." ("Hear, hear.") "For example, it would be felt as an insult to recognise their ministry as part of the ministry of the English Church but on an inferior grade, so that they could not celebrate the communion without Episcopal ordination to the priesthood—in fact, as a sort of irregular diaconate. This, I say, or a similar half-measure would—apart from other considerations of a very grave sort—only aggravate matters by intruding a fresh element of exacerbation.

"Positively, then, how are we to work towards reunion? I reply, primarily by making our Church of England such as gradually will incline Christianly-disposed people to desire communion with her."

Canon Gore concluded his remarks with the following passage containing a most generous tribute to Nonconformity: "We cannot complain if Romans do not recognise our Catholic character when, for example, we for so long have displaced the Eucharist from its true position. We cannot complain of

Dissenters as if mere schism accounted for their existence, when, in fact, it was to an extent it is difficult to exaggerate the sin of our Church which caused separation to seem right to purer consciences in the past; when in fact it is to Nonconformists that we owe in many parts of the country the revival and maintenance of the very idea of religion; when once more God's Spirit has so manifestly blessed their spiritual life." (Applause.) "Let us never forget that belief in certain conditions of valid Church ministry is not in any logical connection with the quite unjustifiable denial that God can act, and has acted, in irregular channels. God is not tied to His sacraments, even though, as men, if we know the truth, we are bound to seek this fellowship in accordance with His covenant, and only so.

"I say, then, let us of the Church of England be true to our own principles and position; let us become more truly the representatives of the Household of God for English people, and the children will naturally desire the fellowship of the family. Meanwhile, let us not insult our Nonconformist brethren by imagining that evils of long standing can be remedied at once. They, too, have a history and an experience; they, too, must be true to it. This I can recognise, though I believe that in proportion as the English Church on her side comes to represent the Church more adequately, in proportion as they on their side are led to re-examine the basis of the Christian covenant, such a spectacle and such an inquiry will lead in time to a widespread desire among Nonconformists for communion in a church constituted according to catholic order, and not the mere result of reaction and protest against admitted evils.

"One word in conclusion. Rightly to estimate the position of Nonconformists will lead us to respect them. We ought not to tolerate the least tendency to contempt or ridicule. The best remedy for such a peril lies in knowing them. Let every clergyman regard it as his duty to have, if it may be so, at least one friend counted among his religious friends who is a Nonconformist. The thought of him will check the tendency to acrimony which the general attitude of opposition engenders. Let us know the Nonconformists socially and personally, as friends and religious friends—none the less religious friends because we think their religious ideas are defective, for we in our turn have much to learn from them. Such personal friendship and occasional intercourse is a far better means of promoting reunion than attempts at official recognition on the borderland of religious effort, which is almost sure to promote heart-burnings where it cannot extend to the inner shrine of ministry. Let us have fellowship —fellowship in the home, the university, the political platform, the social platform, the sphere of private religion; this will dissipate prejudice and lead us towards, in company with other efforts, a large development of reunion in the one Church on the basis, not of our Anglicanism simply, but of the institutions, the creed, and the worship that are really catholic, the inalienable heritage of the children of men." (Loud applause.)

Lord Plunket, the Archbishop of Dublin, having thanked the President for the opportunity afforded to speak upon the question of Home Reunion, not merely because he had the cause at heart, but because he knew of no place where he could hope to advocate that cause more effectively, said: Many persons had watched with interest the proceedings at Grindelwald and Lucerne, and all honour to those who conceived the idea of those conferences abroad, and all honour to the Bishop of Worcester—(applause)—for the brave, wise and statesmanlike course—("No, no," "Hear, hear," and "Yes")—which he thought right to take at Grindelwald. (Applause.) If, when many of their brethren of other denominations made so great a concession as to kneel at the Table of the Lord and partake of the Holy Communion according to the rites of another Church—if, at that time their honoured Bishop had driven them from the communion rails, he would have inflicted an irreparable blow upon the cause of Christian charity throughout the world, and would have printed an indelible blot of shame upon the Church of

Christ. ("Hear, hear.") He pointed to what had been said by the Bishops at the Lambeth Conference, who not only in general terms expressed their desire for home reunion, and who not only laid down the basis upon which negotiations for home reunion might be carried, but passed a resolution calling upon the authorities of every branch of the Anglican Church throughout the world to let it be known that they were willing to enter into negotiations for the representation of other denominations within their Church.

He pointed to something more than this when he observed the general craving and yearning for reunion which had manifested itself throughout the world at large. He confessed he felt that he stood in the presence of something more than a mere work of man or the weight of his authority and opinion, and he contemplated these results with awe, for he believed he was watching the operations of the very Holy Ghost Himself, by whom the whole body of the Church was governed and sanctified. (Applause.)

They must not go to the Nonconformists and ask them to give up everything when they themselves were not prepared to meet them half-way. That most interesting paper read by Canon Gore seemed to deal more with the question of home absorption than with home reunion. It seemed to him almost like the invitation of the spider to the fly. ("No, no," and applause.) It was his definite opinion that it would be necessary to adopt the course to which Canon Gore had referred, and that was to allow all those ministers of other denominations that have been called to the ministry by some solemn rite in other denominations, to be accepted without re-ordination. ("No, no," and applause.)

The Rev. Professor Stokes, Dublin University, said boldly he stood there to advocate rather home absorption than home reunion. (Applause.) As a professor of ecclesiastical history, he proposed to adopt the method, but not the arguments, of the first reader. He proposed to follow the historical method, but he did not propose to quote from Father Gasquet, or any other Roman who held a brief to do the Anglican Church all the harm he could. (Applause.) Nor did he propose to quote from an Erastian like the other gentleman whose authority had been depended upon. (Laughter.) Nor did he intend to depend upon scraps of letters of Hooper, or any other individual Bishop. Because, just as Churches had erred, so might Bishops have erred. (Laughter and applause.) He should be very happy to be bound to accept the dictum even of his own revered diocesan who had just spoken. (Renewed laughter.) If he had to joust rather severely on that occasion it would be understood that it was not his feelings so much as his reason that compelled him to do so. First of all, he objected *in toto,* as false to the position and claims of their Church, to the manner in which the subject had been introduced at Grindelwald and elsewhere. He objected to such language because it was contrary to the distinctly expressed mind of the Church of England and of the Church of Ireland. A Canon of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury said at Lucerne that the Church of England, the Wesleyan Church, the Congregational, the Baptist—none of them were the Church; they were all sects alike, and the Church was greater than them all. Was that loyalty to the Church of England?

The fifth Canon of 1603—a document which was consulted too little—taken in the year 1634, and re-enacted by the Christian laity of the Church of England and Ireland—James Usher being Archbishop of Armagh—said on the subject of the equality of the Churches that whosoever should affirm and maintain that there were within the realm other meetings, assemblies, or congregations than such as by the law of the land were held and allowed, which might rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful churches, let him be excommunicated—(applause)—and not restored until he had repented and publicly revoked his error. (Cheers and laughter.) Further, there were those who maintained that whilst episcopal ordination was a very nice and respectable thing it was not a necessary thing, and that ordination by anyone was just as good. That was what it came to. Such a definition as that was an attempt to upset the Reformation settlement. He did not mean the German or Swiss or Scotch Reformation, but the Reformation of the Church of England and Ireland. If there was any document that was absolutely and completely a Reformation document, and a Reformation settlement, it was the ordinal attached to the Book of Common Prayer. Those provisions were published in 1549, renewed and reaffirmed in 1552, restated and reaffirmed and practically embodied in the articles of 1552 and again in 1562. That set forth that from the first there had been orders of bishops, priests and deacons, and that those orders should be continued; but that no bishop, priest or deacon should execute any of the offices unless he be tried, called, examined, according to the form followed in the book. (Applause.) In conclusion, he maintained that whilst individual bishops might have recognised Presbyterians, the Church had never done so. (Applause.)

The Rev. H. G. C. Moule, now Bishop of Durham, replying to Professor Stokes, said that although they were warned not to touch the Caroline divines, he might appeal to Archbishop Sancroft, who in his letter to the clergy in 1688 besought them to cultivate in every way they possibly could friendly and brotherly relations with their brethren of the Protestant Dissenters, to lead them, if it might be, by every lawful means, to see the reasons for their return to the English Church; but if that might not be, at least to cultivate to the uttermost Christian friendship and brotherhood with them. He (the speaker) knew there were limits to the opportunities for co-operation, and it was to his distress that he recently found it necessary to decline an invitation to co-operation in certain work. It was not, however, that he thought those men less members of Christ than he was himself. God forbid.

To those who cheered and clapped at the thought that dissenting bodies were in no sense churches, he asked that they would try the experiment of bringing themselves into close brotherly relations with Nonconformist Christians as individuals in Christ. After all, the New Testament, with all its great revelations of exterior order, could not fairly be said to put them in the forefront. It was the man that believed, and the Eternal Master Whom they all worshipped who was put in the foreground. There were great principles in the middle distance and in the distance, but let them try to keep the scale as well as the contents of the New Testament and put the first things first. "The man," said the speaker, "who believes in our Lord Jesus Christ—Son of God and Son of man—is not a man for you to turn away from and wonder if he is within the pale of the Covenant." (Applause and dissent.)

The Bishop of Edinburgh held that the arguments of Lord Plunket would split the Church in two.

Chancellor Vernon Smith used the argument which he had heard from the lips of Mr. Price Hughes at Lucerne and said that the problem they had to face was not mere absorption of individuals, because that was an impossibility. The number of Dissenters throughout the English-speaking communities of the world had been put down at seventy millions, and the numbers of the Anglican communion at twenty-three millions. How could they hope to see the twenty-three millions absorb the seventy millions? He believed that when the time came that all saw, as they did, that reunion was a vital necessity, by some inspiration from above, it would be shown to all the English Christians that there was one of two alternatives—either that it was the right thing that the present Nonconformist ministers should submit to episcopal reordination, or that by direct inspiration from above, once and once only the dispensing power which he believed Christ had committed to His Church should be exercised, not by a single Bishop, but the whole body of the Church, and that the Nonconformist ministers should be readmitted without the ceremony of laying-on of hands.

Earl Nelson said that he was pleased to find that a great advance was being made at the Lucerne Conference. He believed every speaker prefaced his remarks by the statement that there could be no real reunion except upon the foundation truth that Jesus Christ was the Son of God. Mr. Hugh Price Hughes, in summing up the work of the Conference, emphasised this truth, and stated that in the New Testament our blessed Lord only used the word "Church" twice, and one was after St. Peter's confession, "Upon this rock I will build my church." Now, two consequences came from this. There could be no doubt that all those who truly believed this great foundation truth were in one sort already one. ("Hear, hear.") It was said that baptism made us one. So it did, because it acknowledged that truth, because they were baptised in the threefold name. The other consequence was that there could be no real reunion which left out large portions of Christians who held that foundation truth. ("Hear, hear.")

The President, Bishop Perowne, said that he hoped they would bear with him whilst he said a few words on the subject that had brought them together. He had abstained hitherto from taking any part in the discussion at the meetings which he had attended, but there was a special reason why he should say something that day. ("Hear, hear.") They knew that he had taken a very active part in this work of home reunion, and he had no doubt that there were a great many persons who thought he had acted unwisely in so doing. ("No, no," and "Hear, hear.") Well, he wished to say a few words in defence of his action. He was told on the previous day by one of the speakers, and he had been told by others, that he was not alive to the evils of Dissent. He was as alive to the evils of Dissent as anybody in that room. ("Hear, hear.") He thought he gave the best proof of his feeling in that respect in attending the Grindelwald Conference. Why should he have gone all that way to attend the Conference if it had not been in the hope that he might do something to get rid of the evils of Dissent? The way to get rid of the evils of Dissent was not by abusing Dissenters. ("Hear, hear.") They must not treat them as he was grieved to see some Churchmen did, as if they were merely social lepers. (Cries of "No, no," and dissent.) Well, he only said some Churchmen; he did not say those in the hall—(laughter)—but he happened to know some Churchmen who so treated Dissenters, and kept them very, very far off. ("Hear, hear.") But if they were lepers, let them do as Father Damien did in that far-off island—let them go and show their sympathy with them in their moral degradation—if they chose so to call it. That was the way to win them to try to understand one another. He could assure them one result of the Grindelwald Conference was that they did understand one another better, and that many of their prejudices were broken down. Nothing struck him more in the conversations he had at the Conference than how completely they misunderstood the Church of England, because the Church of England had never been fairly put before them. He should be told, "You did not put the Church of England fairly before them." That was what Professor Stokes said, and he seemed to think that he (the speaker) made very light of episcopacy. He most emphatically said, and he was glad to have the opportunity of saying it in the presence of that great assembly, that he loved and cherished episcopacy with all his heart. (Applause.)

Bishop Perowne then boldly pleaded that the Act of Uniformity must go. Now he would be told, he said, that the Act of Uniformity stood in the way. He made his good friends a present of the Act of Uniformity. His dear friends who hated Erastianism so much seemed to forget it was an Erastian Act of Uniformity. It was never submitted to Convocation, and he wished they were well rid of it. ("Hear, hear," and "No.") He believed it to be a most deplorable fetter round the neck of the Church. (Cheers and dissent.) He had only just said these few words to explain his position. He did not see why, to be a genuine loyal Churchman, which he claimed to be, he was to take his theology and his views of Church government from men, saintly and good as they were, such as Keble, Pusey, and Newman, and why he might not go back to Andrewes, Cosin, Hall, Sancroft, and Archbishop Wake. He should like to know why one authority was better than another. He claimed his right as a Bishop of the Church, loyal to his principles, firmly believing that episcopacy was the best form of government, but not conceding —he never would concede it—that it was necessary to the validity of the sacraments. (Dissent and applause.) How could it be necessary to the validity of the sacraments when the Church of England herself would admit baptism by a Nonconformist? He only wanted to make his position quite clear to them. Those who thought differently had a perfect right to their own opinion. All he hoped was that as a result of that meeting they would learn to see something dearer, something deeper, something more holy than any church organisation. ("Hear, hear.") He hoped that they would see that to love and worship their one Master Christ was greater than all their contentions; and might they be drawn closer and closer in fellowship to Him; and then they would rejoice in the communion of saints, and they would believe in that which their canons laid down as the true description of the Church—"The whole body of Christian men dispersed throughout the world." (Cheers.)

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